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2. The Upper Liard Indians. This tribe consists of six families living along the Liard River from about eighteen miles north of the Alaska Highway crossing above Lower Post to within a hundred miles of that river's source. Their trapping ranges from the Cassiar Mountains on the west to the Simpson Mountains in the east, where they frequently encounter members of the Frances Lake Tribe.

3. The Dease River Indians are designated in the Indian Affairs Branch census as the Cassa Band. They occupy the basin of Dease Lake and Dease River north to Lower Post and also range west along Blue River and McDame Creek to the Height of Land.

4. The Nelson Indians are the most easterly of these four tribes.[3] They live east of Lower Post on both the north and south banks of the Liard River and range up the Hyland, Smith and, for a short distance at least, Muddy (or Kechika) Rivers. Families trapping south along the Muddy River meet the Tsetsa and Bear Lake Indians (both Sekani groups). A number of Nelson Indians trapping south of the Liard and up the Muddy River appear to have identified themselves with the Tsetsa through intermarriage. Eastward, the Nelson people hunt to the Rocky Mountains and in the past crossed these ranges to trade at Fort Nelson, from whence they derive their name.

In 1944-45, Lower Post, located at Milepost 620 on the Alaska Highway (Pl. 1), was the main trading post serving all of these tribes. A smaller outpost, supplied by air freight, served a portion of the Frances Lake Indians. Less than five years before, however, trading posts were in operation at McDame Creek, eighty miles up Dease River from Lower Post, and at the head of Dease Lake.

To the south and southwest the Kaska are adjoined by the Tahltan Indians, trading at Telegraph Creek on the Stikine River. To the west, across the barrier of the Cassiar Mountains, the Dease River and Upper Liard Indians occasionally meet the Taku Indians trading at Teslin Lake Post. Beyond the Taku are the Tlingit Indians, occupying the Alaska panhandle. On the north the Kaska are bounded by the Pelly River Indians (Tutchone nation). To the northeast are the Mackenzie (Mountain) Indians and, east, the Esputo'tena and Slave Indians of Fort Nelson, Nelson Forks, and Fort Liard. The Slave refer to the Kaska as "Grand Lakers," which is apparently a translation of tutlo'tena, the present day Kaska term of reference for the Frances Lake people. Occupying the middle and upper Muddy River are the Sekani bands already referred to, who divide their trade between Lower Post and Whitewater (Fort Ware), on the Finlay River.

[3] This statement would not hold if the present monograph included the Goat Indians, or Esputo'tena, who trade into Porte Liard and Simpson. In the system of classification adopted for the Northern Athapaskans, these people have commonly been grouped as Kaska (see Osgood, *The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* [1932], 396). Since such classification is primarily on a linguistic basis and because no study of the Esputo'tena has yet been reported, the validity of their classification with the Kaska may legitimately be questioned, especially if reason for doubt can be advanced. Contrary evidence comes from Old Man stating, on the basis of brief acquaintance with this tribe, that he could not too well understand their dialect. This suggests that the provisional grouping of the Esputo'tena with other Kaska tribes may be incorrect.

A somewhat cursory examination of the dialect of the Tsetsa people tends to warrant their exclusion from the Kaska nation, despite their proximity to the latter. See Jenness, *The Sekani Indians of British Columbia* (1937), 5, 10; Osgood, *The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* (1932), 17.

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gambling games were very popular. Other sports included wrestling, boat racing, tug of war, hide and seek, and skill or strength contests.

Marriages, including those with captive women, were regulated by rules of moiety exogamy and incest avoidance, but unions between certain cross-cousins were favored as were marriages between two sisters and two brothers. Residence in marriage was generally matrilocal and unions were not final until a period of bride service had elapsed. Polygyny was practiced by men whose hunting ability enabled them to secure sufficient food and skins to support two wives and many children. Plural wives were always sisters. Fraternal polyandry was resorted to under such special circumstances as that of an old man who was too weak to supply all the resources required by his family.

The conception of the supernatural revolved around the recognition of a number of beings, some of which were believed hostile while others were regarded as friendly. Special respect was also extended to certain animals, including the otter, mink, and weasel. These animals were never killed. A belief in a supreme deity was loosely developed, but individuals relied primarily on their own supernaturally derived power for security and help. Such power enabled men to hunt successfully and also functioned in curing. A wide variety of ritual observances were associated with hunting activities not the least of which was avoidance of the danger which a woman and her biological functions held for a man's power. Sexual abstinence preceded and followed hunting, while during menstruation and parturition women were isolated. At menarche a girl used a quill tube for drinking water and scratched herself with a stick rather than with her fingers. Every person was a potential shaman who could cure illness through his supernatural power. Certain curers, however, attained greater prestige than others and men of this rank sometimes became rivals who competed in public conjuring. Shamans effected cures by sucking disease from the body, imparting their power to water which the patient drank, singing, and receiving confessions from the sick. Plant medicines were limited and were administered by anyone. Shamans could also sorcerize, but this behavior does not appear to have been widespread.

Death was attributed to both sorcery and natural causes. Old and infirm people might be abandoned and left to die. The corpse was buried in summer but cremated in cold weather. Following a husband's death, his widow underwent a period of restriction in which her activities were controlled by her brother-in-law whom she might later marry. After death the spirit of the deceased was believed to continue its existence in an afterworld.

Historic contacts. Kaska contacts with the Tlingit probably antedate the arrival of the white man in the western part of the area. In the late eighteenth century, after the Europeans had visited the Tlingit villages along the Alaska panhandle, these connections became intensified since the coastal Indians, including both Tlingit and Tahltan, became middlemen in the fur trade between the Europeans and the more interior groups. Two Tlingit tribes, the Taku and Stikine Indians, from their geographical position and reported evidence, may be assumed to have maintained such relations with the Kaska (Fig. 2). Furthest north were the Taku people, occupying the area around Taku Bay and lower Taku River.[10] Krause asserts that they went up the Taku River and across the high passes

[10] There is some question if this refers to a branch of the Tlingit or to a Tahltan tribe which, according to Field and Jenness, later became infiltrated by Tlingit people. Today, in Lower Post, the Teslin Lake Taku are referred to as Tlingit. See Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (1932), 396; Field, Unpublished Manuscript (1913).

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175 of the Cordillera toward the headwaters of the Yukon River, where they traded with local
● 177 Indians.[20] The headwaters of the Taku are about thirty miles east of Teslin Lake, at present a Taku Indian village, which adjoins the territory of the Upper Liard Indians. According to Lees numerous trails lead into the Teslin Lake area from the Pacific Coast and a 150 mile trail runs from Teslin Indian village to the Upper Liard area.[21] To the south the Stikine, or Stakhin, people utilized the Stikine River to carry on "a lively trade with the Indians of the interior."[22] The latter designation certainly includes the Tahltan but may also refer to the Kaska. From the upper Stikine River trade goods were further distributed by the Tahltan, who reached the Kaska on Dease Lake and, via overland trails from Telegraph Creek, the Upper Liard Indians at Albert (now Cormier) Creek, twenty-three miles west of Lower Post (Fig. 1). The mouth of Albert Creek is now the site of the bridge by which the Alaska Highway crosses the upper Liard River. According to River Joe, Tahltan traders also reached a point about fifteen miles further up the Liard. Here they established themselves in "tents." The chief's dwelling is said to have flown a flag and to have been surrounded by the tents of the "boys" who accompanied him. From this statement it would appear that Tahltan trade with the western Kaska continued until relatively late in the period of historic contact. The standard of value in this trade may be gauged from the report that an empty lard can sold for one beaver skin.[23] Krause says that some Tlingit Indians traveled as far east as Fort Simpson, which they reached in six days.[24]

648 Relations between the Tlingit and the inland tribes, whom the former called Go'nana, were not always cordial. Swanton reports that the Tlingit valued the Athapaskans "for what could be gotten out of them but otherwise looked down upon as a lower race."[25]

175 177 *The first Europeans.* Several dates can be advanced for the first meetings between the Kaska and Europeans. The earliest probably occurred shortly after 1800, following the establishment of Forts Simpson and Liard. Soon after the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies in 1821, a trading settlement was built at the confluences of the Smith and Liard Rivers known as Fort Halkett.[26] In 1834, J. McLeod, a trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, left Fort Simpson "and ascended the Liard to explore its upper waters—hoping, if possible, to cross the watershed and find some stream running to the Pacific." He traveled to where Lower Post is today and then ascended the Dease River, eventually reaching the Stikine after passing through Dease Lake "which he named after the Arctic explorer."[27] Four years later (1838) McLeod established a trading post on Dease Lake.

Billy Barre reported a story which may refer to the post that McLeod established on Dease Lake. The Indians discovered peculiar chips of wood floating down the water, and

[20] Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 103. See also Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 396, 414; Olson, *Some Trading Customs of the Chilkat Tlingit* (1936).

[21] Lees, *Geology of the Teslin-Quiet Lake Area, Yukon* (1936), 1–2.

[22] Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 111.

[23] Barbeau states that the Tahltan also reached Frances Lake where they traded with the Hudson's Bay Company. Barbeau, *Mountain Cloud* (1944), 15, 28–29.

[24] Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 111.

[25] Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 411, 414.

[26] Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts* (1930), 79.

[27] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 33.

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realized that these could not have been made by beaver. To resolve their curiosity, they traveled up the river and found a house. A white man showed them how these chips of wood had been made with an ax but extensive conversation between the two groups was impossible. The following year the trader returned with an interpreter from the east and now people began to bring their furs to the house in exchange for tea, tobacco, and other European goods. According to Old Man, the Tahltan Indian once tried to kill the trader at Dease Lake. A shaman, however, seized the killer's wrist and wrenched away his knife. Although the "doctor" cut his own hand, he saved the storeman's life.

Old Kean reported having heard that the Kaska people first encountered the white man at Dease Lake. The trader subsisted entirely on dry meat which the Indians prepared for him. A white woman is said to have lived with this man. Informants several times mentioned that in those days the traders asked Indians to pile up their pelts alongside a rifle. When the skins reached the top of the gun, the trader accepted the pile in exchange for the weapon. According to Old Man, the Indians were extremely shy of the early white men and talked to them only with their heads down or otherwise averted.

In 1840, two years after the establishment of Dease Lake Post, Robert Campbell, an explorer for the Hudson's Bay Company, started out from Fort Halkett and reached the site of Fort Frances at the foot of Frances Lake. Here he built a dwelling which he called Glenlyon House after his Scotland home. In 1843 he constructed a trading post which was first named Frances Lake House in honor of the explorer's wife. The name was later changed to Fort Frances.[28] The sight of white men with whiskers at Fort Frances is said to have greatly frightened local Indians who thought that the strangers were wild animals. At the sound of a rifle the people fled in terror. Also the Indians would at first not eat bread. The trader, through his interpreter, explained the use of the tobacco pipe to the Indians, stating that smoke was drawn into the mouth the same way as milk from the mother's nipple. Thus the Indians learned to smoke, although at first they were repulsed by the strong smell of tobacco.

There now follows a period when many of these early trading posts were temporarily or permanently abandoned. Dease Lake was deserted in May 1839.[29] It did not resume operation until many years later and was again closed in the summer of 1945. Fort Frances was abandoned in 1851, following the looting of the post by the Chilkat (Tlingit) Indians. It reopened in 1880 but was again abandoned. A new post was finally built at the foot of Frances Lake by Jack Hilditch about 1936. It was soon acquired by the Hudson's Bay Company under whose management it continues. Fort Halkett was closed in 1865.[30] Its timbers and stone fireplace may still be seen a short distance off the Alaska Highway. The trade was absorbed by Forts Nelson, Liard, and Toad River Post near the mouth of Toad River on the north bank of the Liard. This latter post is not mentioned by Grouard,[31] who states that after the closing of Fort Halkett those Indians who had been provisioned there

[28] Campbell, *Discovery and Exploration of the Pelly (Yukon) River* (1883); Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts* (1930), 69; Burpee, *Campbell of the Yukon* (1945).

[29] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 56.

[30] McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins* (1890), 43D. However, Voorhis gives the year as 1875. Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts*, (1930), 79.

[31] Grouard, *Souvenirs de mes soixante ans d'apostolat dans l'Athabaska-Mackenzie* (n.d.), 102.

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found themselves "thrown into complete poverty" and in the spring of 1867 brought their furs to Fort Liard. Two groups were reported to have come there at the time, Mountain People and Bad People, but neither group brought their families. Toad River post was abandoned about 1890.

Meanwhile, in 1872, Sylvester built a store at the junction of McDame Creek and Dease River. In 1876, after selling this establishment to the Hudson's Bay Company, he contemplated building a "lower post" on the south bank of the Liard near the confluence of the Dease (Pl. 1, D).[32] The Indians living on the north bank, however, complained that when the ice was running they could not cross the river. Since the south bank tribes were already trading at McDame Creek, Sylvester was particularly anxious to reach the more northern bands. Following their suggestion he built on a flat almost a mile below the present site of Lower Post, i.e., below the confluence of the Dease. This is the present site of the abandoned RCMP barracks which were built in 1926. Before 1887 the site had been abandoned for a new store erected where Lower Post stands today. In a short time Sylvester's business was acquired by the Hudson's Bay Company. After 1896 the company built a larger store and warehouse but maintained Sylvester's building as an auxiliary warehouse until 1945, when the structure was demolished.

Important developments took place in the western area between the abandonment of Fort Halkett and the construction of Sylvester's Lower Post. While gold had been found along the Stikine River as early as 1861, it was in 1872 that the bars of the Liard yielded traces of this metal around the ruins of Fort Halkett. In 1873 profitable strikes began to be made at Thibert's Creek at the foot of Dease Lake. Gold hunters in large numbers now began to pour into the country via the Stikine River and in June 1874 the population, exclusive of Indians, was estimated to have reached close to 1500 persons.[33] Many of the miners quit the country with the approach of winter. At this time a Negro, Harry McDame, discovered gold on McDame Creek, where Sylvester operated a trading post. The name of the post was eventually altered from Sylvester's Landing to McDame Creek Post. The news of the gold strikes continued to travel and the influx of miners developed a busy traffic on the Stikine River. In 1874 the Province of British Columbia improved the portage from Telegraph Creek on the Stikine across the Height of Land to the head of Dease Lake, opening a sixty-two mile pack horse trail. By 1876 the population of the Cassiar district reached about 2000 and included a large number of Chinese laborers. The production of the region quickly declined until, in 1887, Dawson found only four or five whites and forty Chinese still at work.[34] In this period three hundred head of cattle were brought overland from the upper Fraser River.

Sometime in the late 80's a Frenchman, Jean La Montagne, opened a trading post at the mouth of the Muddy (Kechika) River. This establishment was soon moved fifty miles up the Muddy River and named Chee House. The post was abandoned early in the twentieth century, when La Montagne, the reputed father of the late Mrs. River Joe, moved to

[32] Voorhis describes Lower Post as being "at the confluence of Dease and Frances Rivers forming the Liard" and describes the post as an outpost of Fort Frances. Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts* (1930), 106.

[33] Dawson, *Extracts from the Report on an Exploration made in 1887 in the Yukon District, N. W. T.* (1898), 308–309. See also Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 56–57.

[34] Dawson, *Report of an Exploration in the Yukon District* (1887–1888), 81.

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Nome, Alaska. Goods to these Muddy River posts were first floated down the Liard by scow, a trip entailing passage through Forty-Mile Canyon. Later freight for Chee House was packed cross-country by horse from McDame Creek. A Fraser River Indian, Packer Tom, was in charge of this operation.

In 1887, Dawson visited Lower Post, which he described as "situated at the edge of a terrace forty feet in height on the left bank of the Liard, about half a mile above the mouth of the Dease. It is of a very unpretentious character, consisting of a few log buildings. In the vicinity the woods have been entirely destroyed by fire."[25]

Pike was the second traveler to traverse a large part of the Cassiar and to publish an account of his journey. In 1892, "On 19th August, early in the morning, we reached Sylvester's Landing at the mouth of McDame's Creek, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company's district of Cassiar. A casual glance at once shows the contrast in the appearance of this western trading post as compared with any of the company's establishments in the same latitude on the eastern side of the Rockies. The slovenly log buildings, the row of Indian shanties in close proximity to the master's house, and the absence of any attempt at regularity in the positions of the various storehouses, compare unfavourably with the neatly kept forts on the northern lakes, where the Hudson's Bay Company has held undisputed sway for a century."[26] Lower Post he describes as another "unpretentious establishment" consisting of "A small store, a log hut for the man in charge, and a few rough buildings belonging to the Indians." A man named Smith is reported to have been the manager.[27]

During his visit to Lower Post, Pike heard a rumor that some of the tribes northwest of the divide "intended to bring their canoes across the portage and make a raid on all the whitemen and Indians whom they met on the Liard and Dease, and had even hopes of plundering the Hudson's Bay Post at Sylvester's Landing."[28] Another version of this story was heard in 1944 from Fred Allen, a white trapper, who received it from a Nass River métis, Herbert Hankin. In the 90's an Indian woman informed P. Agnell, the Hudson's Bay representative in Lower Post, and his assistant, Hankin, that Pelly River Indians were coming to attack the settlement. The Indians came but approached the post only to sell some skins. After the exchange had been completed they made their camp a short distance upstream. That night Agnell awoke to hear a dog growl. He looked out and saw Indians crawling toward the store. Seizing his gun the trader flung open the door and shot into the ground. The Indians explained that they had come to sell the Company some additional pelts.

Pike gives an interesting picture of native health in the Cassiar at the time of his visit. "Once we visited a large lake 20 miles to the westward of [Lower] post,[29] and laid in a

[25] This statement seems to indicate that Dawson found Lower Post situated where it is today. In 1944 the burned area to which he refers was covered with second growth poplar and willow. Dawson, *Extracts From the Report of an Exploration made in 1887 in the Yukon District, N. W. T.* (1898), 314.

[26] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 60-61

[27] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 68.

[28] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 239.

[29] This is clearly a reference to Watson Lake, one of the most important fish lakes in the vicinity and now the site of a modern airport.

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175 177 supply of whitefish, which we caught in nets under the ice, in great quantities. Here we found a band of Liard Indians hunting and fishing. Sickness was prevalent in the camp—very few of the men were well enough to hunt moose, and they had come to the lake to be sure of making a living. A melancholy spectacle the camp presented; half a dozen pits in the snow lined with pine brush, a little more pine brush stuck up as a wind-break, and no other shelter from the weather. Lying in their blankets were the sick men, some of them evidently never to get up again—dying among the moose hair and fish guts . . . 'Oh! We're always like this,' the chief explained, 'since the white men came to the country. In the old time, my tribe was powerful, but now many of my people die every winter. Some children are born, but they are no good—they die soon.' "[40]

In another place the author comments further on the depopulation of the Kaska area. "The remnants of the once numerous tribe of Casca Indians presents a good example of the rapid deterioration of natives, caused by free intercourse with whites—especially, perhaps, with a class of whites which is always to be found in mining camps . . . . No pious missionary has ever penetrated into Cassiar to point out these matters to the Indians . . . . Perhaps it is too late to begin, as at the present rate of mortality, the Cascas will be extinct in ten years time, and the banks of the Dease and Liard depopulated."[41]

In 1897 and 1898 a second influx of miners entered the area, this time en route to the Klondike gold fields. Two principal routes to the central Yukon passed through the Cassiar region. One involved travel up the Stikine River to Telegraph Creek. From this point the miners could use the Dease, Liard, and Frances Rivers to reach the northern divide across which they would find the headwaters of the Yukon's tributaries. Another route was overland from the Stikine to Teslin Lake and thence by river to Dawson. The overland trail from Glenora and Telegraph Creek to Teslin Lake presumably corresponds to the route followed by the early Tahltan traders visiting the Upper Liard Indians. There was still a third but less used means of access to the Yukon. This was from Edmonton, Alberta, to the Finlay River (via the Peace) and then up Finlay and Fox Rivers to Sifton Pass and down the Muddy to the vicinity of Deadwood Lake. From here the trail leading to Chee House ran to McDame Creek where river travel could be resumed. Johnston reports the latter route to have been traversed in 1898 by Inspector J. D. Moodie of the Northwest Mounted Police.[42] According to Old Man, a pack horse trail was cut at this time stretching from Lower Post to Frances Lake along the banks of the Liard and Frances Rivers. The trail is now said to be largely overgrown but the trees still show where the bark was rubbed by the bulky packs.[43]

The Klondike bound miners passing through the country at this time are still recalled as a group by the local Indians. A number of Upper Liard Indians, some serving as guides to the gold seekers, are reported to have followed the migration to Frances Lake and across

[40] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 98–99.

[41] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 61–62.

[42] Johnston, *Gold Placers of Dease Lake Area, Cassiar District, B. C.* (1926), 40A.

[43] For some details of the miners' hardships as they pressed through the Cassiar see Tollemache, *Reminiscences of the Yukon* (1912), 23–32. Also, Dennis, *Life on a Yukon Trail* (1899), 377–390, 457–466.

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the divide. Some of these Indians settled around Frances Lake and Pelly River and remain there today.

Ideas of Christianity had undoubtedly long percolated through the Kaska area from the eastern peoples who were near the Oblate settlements on the Mackenzie and Fort Nelson Rivers. An Oblate made a brief visit to Fort Halkett in the middle of the nineteenth century, but no direct contact with religious leaders began until relatively late.

Around 1900 a Protestant missionary, Pallgrave, began to visit the Kaska. His preaching, which was conducted out of doors, was strongly directed against witch torture, but he also taught a few men the rudiments of writing. Selecting influential men he encouraged these to exert a moral influence on the other people. After freezing his foot by stepping into an overflow (water seeping through river ice), Pallgrave was replaced by English. The latter minister is reported to have remarked that he found the Kaska "too wild." He was followed by Thorman whose son, Fred, is the current Protestant minister at Telegraph Creek. About 1925 a Catholic church and mission school were established at Telegraph Creek. Sometime toward the close of the nineteenth century the Prophet Cult made its appearance in the Kaska area. The movement appears to have been inspired by Catholic ceremonialism and its weak development in the Cassiar was probably at least in part a result of the limited influence of Catholicism on the Kaska tribes.[44]

Among the Pelly River Indians, where the Upper Liard Indians encountered this movement, the leader of the cult was Gušai·š ("Helps the People"). This man was a Ross River shaman who affected ragged clothes, refused to cut his hair, and carried a drum. He is said to have been provided with a piece of skin on which was drawn a picture of people following in a line to heaven.[46] At assemblages, the prophet talked of God and sometimes threw pieces of meat and fat into the fire, also feeding small pieces to people. He told the people not to eat moose feet or they would be unable to use their own feet.[46] He also stuck a small piece of a feather into the hair of every person present. To some Indians he distributed amulets, consisting of smooth flat stones, the size of a quarter. These, he directed, were to be sewn into a piece of skin and worn next to the heart suspended from around the neck.[47] On other occasions he sang from a skin which was shaped like a book and accompanied himself on a drum. It was said that if blood dropped from the "book" good luck could be expected in hunting. The prophet often demonstrated his power by predicting the arrival of strangers. Gušai·š did not care for the Protestant missionaries, claiming that they did not speak the truth. He was, however, favorably disposed to the Catholic Church.

A Kaska Indian, George Steele, who had spent many years in Fort Nelson before re-

[44] Spier, however, points out that the Prophet Cult of the Northern Athapaskans may have been influenced by the Prophet Dance of the northern plateau. See Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (1935).

[46] "Maps" of this kind were a common feature of the Northern Athapaskan Prophet Cult. See Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 132–134.

[46] Both the taboo on moose feet and feeding the fire are aboriginal religious elements which, in some form, still survive among the Kaska today. The feeding of meat and the distribution of feathers mentioned below hearken of communion.

[47] This practice seems to have been influenced by the Catholic scapula.

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175 turning to Lower Post, is said to have had possession of a map showing trails to heaven. The
177 map, Indians reported, found its way into the hands of Catholic missionaries and was blessed
794 by the bishop. In the Dease River area, a ceremony occurred that may have contained overtones of the Prophet Dance as described by Spier. A shaman would play his drum and sing while the people danced. This was referred to as "praying to God." The shaman also dreamed to foretell the future. As a result of participating in the dance, men secured good luck for hunting. The Bear Lake Sekani are also said to have had a prophet who performed a "kind of Mass." Further west the Taku developed a movement along similar lines. The prophet would preach and once, while he was doing so, his wife took a knife out of his pocket, as he was not supposed to carry a knife while performing religious rites.

175 *Recent history.* Between 1908 and 1910 the Kaska and Tahltan Indians pooled resources
177 with other British Columbia tribes to fight the Registered Trap Line Act of the Province. According to local informants a Kaska spokesman, Ena?inta ("He Watches the People"), declared that the Indians had existed before the white man and could continue to live without his laws. The Indians demanded the right to trap anywhere without interference,
[648] but their case was lost. The anthropologist-folklorist, James (locally, "Jimmy") Teit, aided the Indians in this legal move and was secretary of the intertribal organization.[48]

Around 1904 the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly of trade in Lower Post was challenged by John Hyland, who built a store in that settlement which, twenty-two years later, was sold to Oscar Anderson. In the late thirties the establishment was acquired by Bill Strong who already owned a trading company in Telegraph Creek and had formerly traded up the Taku River. He named the establishment Taku Trading Company and continues to operate it through an agent (Pl. 1, B).

In 1913, in a report to the National Museum in Ottawa, Poole Field, a local prospector and trapper and formerly a Hudson's Bay trader in Fort Simpson,[49] commented on the prevalence of tuberculosis among the Cassiar tribes. "Tuberculosis seems to be the strongest of all diseases amongst them. A few years ago they were dieing off fast but it seems to have killed all the sickly ones and left the strongest and healthy ones as they are now on the increase and very little sickness amongst them of any kind."[50]

The year 1920 saw a strike of a different character from those made by miners take place in the Dease River basin. The Indians employed to line boats up that river struck for higher wages. The Hudson's Bay Company at McDame Creek had been paying liners $2.50 a day; they now demanded $5.00 daily. The work was hard and required long hours. Lining began at five o'clock in the morning and often continued until eight at night. Six men were required to pull the boat, while in the craft were a captain and tiller man. The leader of the strike was Big Joe, a Pelly River Indian, and under his leadership the strikers won their demands.

For many years reports of witch hunting emanating from the Kaska area had given those tribes an unfavorable reputation. In 1924 this notoriety was intensified when Fred Allen, a

[48] See Boas, *James A Teit* (1922); Boas, *James A. Teit* (1923). The allegation of Indians that Teit absconded to the United States with the funds of this organization (see below, pp. 153) is patently false and deserves serious refutation.

[49] Godsell, *Romance of the Alaska Highway* (1944), 87.

[50] Field, Unpublished Manuscript (1913), 10.

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local white trapper, found the body of an Indian, Moccasin, in the Liard River at Little Charlie Slough, thirty miles below Lower Post. The body suggested murder and Allen reported his discovery to the Mounted Police. When they arrived at Lower Post he led them to the scene. The body, however, was missing. Nearby the police found the camp of several siblings of a prominent Nelson River Indian family. The body was finally unearthed and five Indians taken to Prince Rupert, B. C., for trial.[81]

Witch-fear apparently reached the Kaska from the Pacific coast Tlingit via the Tahltan Indians. Informants declared themselves unfamiliar with the techniques of witchcraft and denied that the phenomenon was related to aboriginal sorcery.[82]

In June 1926 a second police patrol was dispatched to Lower Post "to enforce greater respect for the law."[83] This mission was under the command of Inspector T. V. S. Wunsch, assisted by Sergeant J. R. Paton. Accompanying the party was Father E. Allard, O. M. I., en route to take up missionary work with the Kaska Indians. In July of 1926 a mild influenza epidemic attacked the native population at Lower Post as well as the police party. Sergeant Paton reported: "I find that colds and chest trouble are very prevalent in this district, chiefly attributable to their mode of living." Between August 18 and September 1 the police, together with Fred Allen, made a canoe trip to Frances Lake, where, however, they encountered no Indians. The hundred and fifty mile journey upriver took eleven days. The police remained in Lower Post for the winter. In January 1927 Paton got both his hands badly frostbitten while transporting fish from Watson Lake by dog team. One finger had to be amputated at the joint. Later that season, Wunsch suffered an attack of snowblindness.

After his arrival Father Allard opened a church and school at McDame Creek, where he also undertook a brief ethnographic study of the Dease River and Upper Liard Kaska. The priest estimated the total Kaska population to number about 150, including, he thought, "individuals from neighboring nomadic tribes, namely of the Upper Liard, Fort Grahame, Fort Nelson, and also a few from Fort McLeod and Bear Lake, British Columbia."[84] He reported informants to the effect that "the Kaska Indians were very numerous before the coming of the white man which took place about 1878, the time of the first gold rush in the Cassiar." In 1942, while traveling on upper Dease River, Father Allard was drowned near a slough which now bears his name. About that time Father Carpentier, O. M. I., entered the country and built a mission at Dease Lake Post, while the Rev. Pierre A. Poullet, O. M. I., succeeded Father Allard at McDame Creek.

At this time the Cassiar district was opened to ready access by the outside world through the extension of a northern air route from Edmonton. In 1925 occurred the first air flight to Lower Post.[85] It was ten years more, however, before an air route from Edmonton to Whitehorse, via Lower Post, was surveyed, opening the way for the first weekly mail

[81] British Columbia, *Report of the Superintendent of Provincial Police* (1925), X14; also Canada, *Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (1926), 18–19, 24.

[82] For a historical and psychological study of the dynamics of witchfear among the Kaska see Honigmann, *Witch-Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society* (1947).

[83] Canada, *Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (1927), 81–84.

[84] Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1928), 24.

[85] Wilson, *Northwest Passage by Air* (1943), 111–118.

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175 flight between those points in 1937. The route was operated by Yukon Southern Airlines,
177 later absorbed by Canadian Pacific Airlines. In 1939 an airport site was surveyed at Watson Lake, about twenty-five miles from Lower Post, and connected to the town by a well worn Indian trail. Funds for the construction of the airport were released in 1940, the year in which mail service to Lower Post was increased to twice weekly. In 1941, when the construction of the airport was begun, mail service was stepped up to three times a week. In 1941 the partially finished airport was turned over to the joint control of Canadian and United States governments. Watson Lake is named for a Yorkshireman, who came to Lower Post about 1897 en route to the Klondike. He remained in the Cassiar to prospect and trap, marrying a Kaska Indian woman by whom he had several children. He died in 1938.

A new wave of activity struck the Cassiar in 1941 when the two North American governments began to enlarge Watson Lake airport for military occupation in connection with the second World War. Vast quantities of supplies and materials were shipped into the country via the Stikine waterway. The portage road from Telegraph Creek to Dease Lake was graveled and widened and a number of sternwheelers (locally called "turinel boats") and barges were constructed at Dease Lake Post for service on the lake and river. In July 1941 the first barges reached Lower Post with supplies for the airport. A road was built extending from the settlement to Watson Lake.[56] In 1942 construction activity was stepped up with the undertaking of the Alaska Highway (first called the Alcan Highway). Thousands of civilian and uniformed construction workers began to appear in Lower Post for what slight recreation that isolated settlement afforded. In that same year the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned its McDame Creek post, transferring business to Lower Post where, in 1944, a modern store and warehouse were built fronting the new Highway (Pl. 1, c). The Roman Catholic mission also moved to Lower Post and another church was built at Watson Lake to accommodate the Catholic civilian and military personnel quartered on that huge installation. The B. C. Police constable and game warden were shifted from McDame Creek in 1944, and for a time occupied quarters near the Hyland River, twelve miles east of Lower Post, where a large construction camp was located. In 1945 these government services also located in Lower Post.

Our period of participation and observation of Kaska society covered the period from June 1944 to September 1944, when interaction between the Highway workers and Indians was still fairly high, and from June 1945 to December 1945, when this interaction had all but disappeared. Our work also followed after over a century of contact between native and western culture. The nature of this contact must now be briefly examined, since from it developed a large part of present Kaska culture.

ACCULTURATION

177 Three main and several less important agents of acculturation may be recognized for their influence on aboriginal Kaska culture. In the main group we can distinguish the traders, missionaries, and police. Of lesser importance in promoting culture change were the miners, trappers, and soldiers who came into contact with the native population.

[56] These vessels are now stored on the Indian reserve about a half mile below Lower Post. Their lumber, although available to Indians for boat construction and other purposes, is rarely used.

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The most important of all of these agents of culture change were probably the fur traders and missionaries. Although similar agencies had been established in the east for almost one hundred and fifty years, general penetration of the Kaska area was effected only about one hundred years ago. As was pointed out above, resident missionaries have been in the heart of the region only since 1926. In the east, however, missionary influence has been effective far longer and it may be suspected that Catholic teachings permeated the area from eastern centers. Intensive contact with police has also been increasing since about 1926.

All of these agents of acculturation represented a more complex culture, strikingly different from that of the Kaska. In general the influence of these intrusive groups may be divided into changes which they promoted in the technical aspects of Kaska culture and changes promoted in the social aspects of the native way of life. Expressed in other terms, changes were effected in the adaptive aspects of the culture as well as in its adjustive features.[57] The degree of change in the adaptive aspects of the Kaska culture far surpassed that which resulted in the adjustive patterns. The technical changes were better understood and were received far more eagerly than the ideological teachings of the missionaries or the commands of the police. As a result of these readily accepted innovations, most of which greatly facilitated the life of the society, the people, in two or three generations, lost most of their ability to understand how the aboriginal society managed to exist under former conditions. Informants repeatedly referred to the hard life under aboriginal conditions when people lived in the bush "same like game," when there were "no clothes, just skin," and hardly any food but fish and meat. Today there is no tendency for people to idealize the ability of their grandparents to adapt to the environment with the resources of the aboriginal culture. The past is done with and nobody wants to abandon technical improvements for a return to former patterns. The same satisfaction is expressed toward those ideological and emotional features of western culture which have been most firmly accepted by the people, like Christian belief in God, heaven and hell, and the end of intertribal warfare. Nobody hearkens back to aboriginal religious concepts, although some features of this former adjustment continue to survive and have become blended with Christian religious concepts. Retroflective sentiments are, however, directed toward the abundance of moose and caribou in the past.

Looking upon the end result of acculturation more closely, it is apparent that adaptive changes have penetrated almost every aspect of the technical culture. White foods assumed great importance in the native diet, causing important changes in the economic life. Men ceased to concentrate excessive interest and energy in fishing and hunting, and devoted more time to trapping for furs. The flintlock musket and double-barreled percussion cap shot gun replaced the bow and arrow and spear. The crossbow was also introduced, with its stock shaped like a gun stock, and was used until guns came down in price. Canvas tents and log houses replaced the temporary brush shelters, as greater permanency took the

[57] In analyzing Kaska culture we will frequently find it useful to distinguish between its adaptive and adjustive aspects. Adaptation is used with reference to the physical environment, while adjustment is directed to the social, supernatural, and psychological environments. Man thus adapts to the natural environment but adjusts to other individuals, gods, spirits, and to himself. Any behavior may simultaneously serve both adaptive and adjustive functions.

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177 place of frequent mobility. Stoves, blankets, candles, and matches became standard household equipment. New and better tools, including the hammer, saw, steel knife, ax, and nail, permitted the construction of the more permanent dwellings and of tables and raised beds of hewed lumber. These tools, plus the drill, also facilitated the construction of the snowshoe, toboggan, and plank boat. The ax became indispensable for cutting wood to use in stoves. Clothing came to be prepared of wool and cotton cloth, superior to moosehide in warmth, and sewing became less tedious through the use of steel needles, cotton thread, and, finally, sewing machines. River travel and transportation was facilitated by the outboard motor, while the overland transportation grew easier when horses were introduced by the gold seekers. Deadfalls were displaced for trapping fur-bearing mammals by spring traps. Native cordage was abandoned in favor of rope and thread. Tanned skin is used largely for moccasins and mittens. The bow and arrow, stone knife, stone points, and lance ceased to be manufactured. Bone and tooth ornaments were replaced by glass and metal jewelry; native face paints by cosmetics. Tattooing also disappeared.

Following acceptance of many adaptive techniques and resources from western culture, the Kaska became highly dependent upon these innovations. Today river travel without the convenience of an outboard engine is almost unthinkable; sewing is often postponed until a sewing machine can be obtained; hunting is impossible without a gun. This dependence upon recently acquired technical processes complements the previously discussed absence of any idealization of previous patterns of adaptation.

177 191 In the adjustive sphere of the culture the important introductions of white men included a new language—English—with its system of numeration and of ordering time and weights; a new religion, Christianity, and a new system of social control.[88] The Kaska were also faced with the necessity of adjusting to a new ethnic group, the whites. While the native language continued to be spoken within the society, other adjustive patterns dropped out, such as belief in many native supernaturals as well as many avoidances and 177 taboos. Shamans ceased to be the curers of the society. Warfare stopped, and people became subject to the system of institutionalized justice introduced by the government. After the arrival of resident Catholic missionaries nuptials began to be celebrated with religious rites and many marriages acquired a legally binding character. In local summer schools, priests started to give Kaska children elementary training in reading and writing; a few older boys and girls were sent to boarding schools located outside of the Cassiar. New patterns of amusement were introduced, including listening to recorded music, face-to-face ballroom [207] dancing, and poker. More recently the radio has become a popular instrument, while the United States Army permitted a number of young people to see occasional motion pictures.

177 622 The early traders tried to institute some degree of government among the Indians in order to improve the collection of fur. They appointed "chiefs" whose main duty was to stimulate energetic trapping. To enhance their status, some chiefs received certain distinc-

[88] The French language never developed in the Cassiar as it did in the Mackenzie Basin. Contact with the French was restricted to the eastern fringes of the Kaska. Once the Cassiar was thoroughly penetrated (about 1870), the day of these traders was over and the Hudson's Bay Company was using English and Scotch representatives. Missionary influence was also late; when the French-Catholic Oblates arrived they readily accepted English as the second language of the people.

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tive articles of clothing, like colored coats. Men selected for leadership were usually influential "talkers" and were annually provided with food to be distributed at a feast or apportioned to families. This type of government has now been replaced by a still looser form, chiefs being designated by the Indian Agent. Present day Indian leaders have practically no social functions.

From trappers, miners, traders, and other visitors to the region, the Kaska gradually accumulated a knowledge of the "outside"—the cities of the American continent and foreign countries. Illustrated papers and magazines increased the vividness of this knowledge and by their aid some adults laboriously learned to read. Through these agents of culture change, the Indians also acquired an appetite for alcoholic beverages as well as the knowledge for preparing them. In recent years, the presence of United States soldiers in the area greatly influenced the Indians' opinion of "Americans," stereotyped attitudes toward this group being formed which differ sharply from those held about Canadians.

In many respects, however, the ideological and emotional aspects of Kaska culture do not follow the pattern of the white society, and processes of child socialization still adhere to aboriginal lines. Certain traits were only partially accepted or, being adopted, received a different interpretation by the Indians. Many adaptive and adjustive features of the aboriginal culture remain, sometimes slightly modified, alongside the newly acquired patterns. In certain parts of the Kaska area (notably Frances Lake), acculturation has proceeded more slowly than in others. Because some individuals were raised by white fathers or in the service of white men, differences in ideological and emotional acculturation must also be recognized as occurring between individuals and families constituting the society.

The end product of these hundred years of contact between western society and the Kaska Indians is present day Kaska culture.

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the daily task of women and girls, and is work greatly depended upon to keep a family supplied with meat from day to day. A woman will set from three to six snares at a time. The most common rabbit snare utilizes a trigger stick and spring pole and is constructed with stout cotton line. The spring pole must not be too heavy or the rabbit will be jerked off the ground so abruptly as to break the snare line. Brass wire is also used for snares but without a trigger stick; instead a simple noose is formed on a firmly anchored toggle (for example, a small felled jackpine). Such toggle snares are said to have been introduced into the Upper Liard district by Mrs. Man, a Slave Indian from Fort Liard. Rabbit snares are located above rabbit runs, generally where such paths cross a trail. The noose is placed about three or four inches from the ground. After a heavy snowfall the snares must be raised above the surface of the snow, else they will be passed over by the animals. A tour of the snare line, which is always located close to camp, never takes longer than about an hour. If a snared rabbit is not dead when a snare is visited, the woman will choke the animal by wringing its neck.

Fur trapping. What animals are trapped for fur varies according to the resources of the region. Most areas can be depended on to yield lynx, squirrel, fox, weasel, mink, and wolverine. Marten, an animal whose fur commands the highest prices, is found on high ground, but not all trap lines extend to the mountains. Similarly, not all people are fortunate in having well stocked beaver creeks on their territory. In trapping, the Indian is governed by the game laws of the province or territory in which his line is located. In British Columbia, the season for winter trapping begins on November 15, while in the Yukon it opens November 1. In both places this season ends with February and gives place to the open season for beaver and muskrat. In British Columbia the beaver season extends from March 1 to April 15; in the Yukon it ends on June 15.

Even before the season opens, the trapper should be preparing for his winter work. Some of the duties that must be attended to are packing food to the camps and cabins located along the trap line; building new cabins, caches, or tent frames on the line; cutting new trail over areas of the line hitherto not systematically trapped, and repairing existent tents, cabins, stoves, and caches. White men engage in much more intensive preparation for trapping than the Indians. This is recognized by the latter. As Old Man said early in September, although the trapping season in the Yukon did not begin until November, "some white men start out this time. They pack their grub away. Get everything ready. The boys they wait, then they put their stuff out. I could do it now but I feel bad." Old Man's son-in-law, Harry Lang, moved some food to his base cabin on November 2. For the previous ten days he had been prevented from crossing the river because of running ice and slush. Old Man, who did not have the problem of crossing a river, had his wife move some food to a half-way cache on November 2. Both men started setting traps on November 4. Old Man's other son-in-law, Hans Donnelly, did not start setting traps until November 10, when he also first moved some food to his line camp.

Only unmarried girls and, sometimes, a man's wife confine their trapping to within a day's journey from the winter settlement. Men generally begin trapping from a base camp located from eight to fifteen miles from the home cabin. A man sets up to thirty miles of traps, generally in a circle or semicircle. To cover this circuit may take a week, longer if additional side lines are set radiating from the main trail. Once the traps are placed, they

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The details of the construction of frame houses will not be presented. Despite their growing importance, they are limited to Lower Post, where lumber is readily available and where summer occupancy does not require the greater warmth of chinked log walls. Such houses are sometimes built with the aid of a skilled white carpenter. If white assistance is used, it is generally for the purpose of sawing and fitting the frame and rafters. Varying in size, the frame house averages about fifteen by seventeen feet and generally contains only one room. The interior of the walls are usually faced with heavy blue paper, sold locally by the roll, while the exterior is covered with black roofing paper. The roof is covered with a double layer of roofing paper but is not shingled. A frame house generally contains two windows and a door, together with such modern hardware as a doorknob and metal hinges.

Log cabins vary in size according to their functions. Home cabins are larger than trap line cabins, averaging about fourteen by seventeen feet as compared to ten by fourteen foot line cabins. As mill sawed lumber has become available for roofing and flooring, the size of home cabins has tended to increase.

A man generally requests his son or son-in-law to help him build a log cabin or else he may hire young men to assist him. Either the width or length of the house may be set parallel to the river. Doors never open away from the river. There are, however, no rules for orienting a house, and an individual will build on any site that suits his fancy, quite without regard to the situation of neighboring structures. Damp or mossy places are avoided for house sites as dampness is known to cause the bottom logs to rot. Low buildings are disliked as they are thought to "carry sickness."

When the builder has decided upon the dimensions of a cabin, he proceeds to cut red spruce logs to fit his undrawn plans. For a durable home cabin, the poles selected are about ten or more inches in diameter; in a line cabin they average about five inches. The bark is removed from the logs, which are then transported to camp and stacked until assistance becomes available to put them in place. Putting up the walls is regarded as the hardest part of constructing a cabin. As each log is set in place, a bowl shaped trench is axed about six inches from the end of each log. The trench is wide enough to support the following log. An older cabin observed lacked these trenched corners. Instead the end of each log was hewed almost square for a distance of about six inches from the end, leaving a rectangular tongue. These tongues were placed upon one another and at right angles, making a tight, close joint. This construction is said to have been introduced in the Upper Liard area by a Tahltan Indian. Both types of corners are shown in Figures 4, A and 4, D (see also Pl. 10, D). Since logs are rarely cut to exact dimensions they may be trimmed after they have been put in place. This is sometimes done in the course of construction and sometimes after the construction is completed (Pl. 6, D). Often it is only partially done. Window frames are cut after the walls have reached the height of the window opening. A home cabin generally contains one or two windows; a line cabin seldom contains more than one window and sometimes has none. The doorway is similarly cut after the required number of logs are in position and the doorjamb added after the rest of the structure is finished.

The construction of the roof is one of the most important tasks in housebuilding. Three ridge poles are generally used in a home cabin; a smaller line cabin, however, may have only one center ridge pole. Very large home cabins sometimes contain five ridge poles to support

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493 481 In traveling with a toboggan after a snowfall, it is necessary for someone with snowshoes to precede the dogs and break trail for them as well as to clear windfalls and bulwark the ascents to ridges. Men or women or adolescent children may break trail. If possible, two persons are used to break trail, one following behind the other. The person guiding the toboggan (usually a man) runs behind the vehicle on snowshoes (Pl. 7, b). Such guidance is particularly important when the trail runs downhill, as it is then necessary to restrain the progress of the vehicle. Going uphill assistance must be given to the dogs. This is generally done by the person whose task it is to guide the toboggan running in front with the guide rope and pulling. The rope is not pulled directly in front of the dogs but from a side. On the diagonal ascent of a ridge the guide rope is pulled from the uphill side of the trail in order to prevent the conveyance from slipping. When handlebars are used, dogs are assisted by pushing the toboggan from behind while on a steep hill further help is given by someone else tugging on the dog harness (Pl. 12, a).

A particular danger in traveling across frozen lake and river surfaces is encountered from overflows. These are produced by sinking ice, through which a small amount of water may seep without freezing. Sometimes overflows are impossible to detect in advance, being covered with freshly falling snow. The unfrozen water quickly forms ice on the toboggan boards and, if the unaccustomed friction causes the dogs to halt, may freeze the vehicle to the spot. When a toboggan runs into an overflow and the forming ice begins to hold back the dogs, quick help is given to assist the animals. As soon as the vehicle is on dry snow it is tilted to one side and the ice knocked free with the back of an ax. Remaining ice is scraped free with the ax blade. Sometimes this is not sufficient to remove all the ice. Then the toboggan must be unpacked, a fire made, and the ice melted loose, after which the boards are allowed to dry. Despite the recognized danger of overflows, a suspicious spot of ice is often run over swiftly in order to avoid a lengthy detour. To guard against such danger spots, the person breaking trail often secures a long pole and, well in advance of the vehicle, tests the ice before each step. When not in use the toboggan is turned upside down, on its side, or is leaned against a building with the rear portion resting on the ground. It is rarely placed on a sleigh rack.

493 177 398 335 The construction of the Yukon sleigh was not observed. Such vehicles, made from birch, are from seven to nine feet long and are far heavier than toboggans. Their construction was probably learned from white men. The basis of the conveyance consists of two runners, which are several inches longer than the floor boards of the body. The runners are three inches wide and one inch thick. After being bent they are fitted with readymade steel runners that are attached with screws. The floor slats of the sleigh are made of birch wood; four pieces of lumber are required, each four inches wide and about a half inch thick. They are held together by crosspieces, five inches wide and half an inch thick. The crosspieces are placed twenty inches apart, their number depending on the length of the vehicle, and are secured to the floor boards by means of carriage bolts. The floor of the sleigh meets the upturned runners in front but along the rest of the vehicle it is supported about four inches above each runner by stanchions, five inches long, four inches wide, and three inches thick. These blocks are spaced about ten inches apart beginning about four inches from the rear of the sleigh. The body and runners are joined to the stanchions by means of screws. Sleighs are usually provided with handlebars, which are about eighteen inches high and

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Dishes are generally washed as soon as a meal is completed. Hot or boiling water, with or without soap, is used for dishwashing and a wet cloth used to remove grease and food particles. In traveling, dishes are washed less carefully, often being merely rinsed with hot water and allowed to dry. Washing dishes is women's work unless men are eating alone.

Beverages.[13] In the last twenty or twenty-five years the Kaska have learned the process of fermentation from white men and today frequently prepare their own wine and beer. The principal alcoholic beverages consumed by the people are malt beer, fruit wines (both of which are domestically manufactured), whiskey, and rum. The two latter beverages are surreptitiously obtained from white men. Also consumed are such alcoholic products as lemon extract, hair tonic, after shave lotion, and stomach tonic.

Malt beer is the beverage most commonly manufactured by the Indians. One can of malt, which is obtainable from local traders, with five pounds of sugar and one or two yeast cakes added to warm water produce about five gallons of beer. Sometimes a handful or two of fruit, such as raisins, oranges, or berries, is added at the time of setting the malt beer in the hope that fermentation of these will increase the alcoholic content. Fruit wines are made from raisins, prunes, dried peaches, or dried apples; rice may be added. To make five gallons of wine requires a total of ten pounds of fruit or grain, five pounds of sugar, and one or two yeast cakes. A five gallon barrel is filled close to the top with water and the mixture allowed to ferment. In summer, wines are prepared from soap berries. Any brew containing these berries, may be referred to as "bear drink" or "bear medicine."

Beer or wine is set in either a wooden barrel or in large aluminum and enamelware cooking pots. In Lower Post, brews are almost always set in the bush, away from the camp or house, in order to prevent detection by police and missionaries. When this is done, there is danger that the cold nights of autumn may interfere with the fermentation process. To prevent this, hot rocks are sometimes placed alongside the barrel, or the vessel is covered with a tarp and partially buried in the ground surrounded by hot rocks and ashes. Indians estimated that a malt beer is completely fermented in three days, while a fruit wine requires about five days to reach full alcoholic potency. Nevertheless native wines are rarely allowed to set longer than three days and beer is sometimes consumed after it has been working only twenty-four hours. The alcohol in malt beer, when given a chance to approach complete fermentation, rarely exceeds five per cent. Wines may contain up to about ten per cent of alcohol. No rigid division of labor is apparent in setting brews, women and men both preparing the beverages. In Lower Post, people rarely make more than five gallons of beer or wine at a time. At home, if visitors are present to participate in the drinking, ten or more gallons may be prepared.

The principal nonalcoholic beverages consumed are tea, coffee, and milk. Tea with sugar but without milk is the favorite daily drink of most people, strong tea being said to make a man feel strong. The beverage is brewed until quite dark and is then heavily sweetened. A house or camp generally has a ready pot of tea standing near the fire, and people drink some several times a day. Tea made with water obtained from snow is praised for its finer taste. Most families drink coffee at least once a day, generally for breakfast. It is made weak and is always taken with milk and sugar. Children alone drink milk. Evaporated milk diluted

[13] See also, Honigmann and Honigmann, *Drinking in an Indian-White Community* (1945).

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shoe, so that the sinew will not be subjected to too much wear. Mukluks are rarely seen but may be purchased locally from traders.[17] Piping is inserted in the seams of moccasins and mittens, serving less as decoration than to prevent the penetration of cold.

Children's foot duffel often consists of a woolen or flannel rag simply wrapped around the foot; sometimes rabbit skin, which has been dried outdoors in cold weather, is used for this purpose. Adult duffel is cut from old woolen blankets, the pattern being said to follow an old moccasin pattern which was abandoned a long time ago. Material of the required size is first folded along the diagonal (a–b) as shown in Fig. 6, D, and is then again folded along (c–d). The rectangle of folded material thus obtained is now cut along a curved line. What will be the upper layer is now cut as illustrated by the broken line and the garment sewn around the toe and side thus making a loose slipper. The heel is sewn to within an inch of the bottom of the lower layer, which is then cut to square off the heel and sewn. An ankle wrap of the same material is added, but no lacing is used to keep this part in place since the outer moccasin lacing will do so. Felt insoles are sometimes worn as additional duffel.

Although aboriginally the Upper Liard Indians made the parka, today there are only a few women who know how to cut this garment, which is usually purchased. Native parkas are manufactured from doeskin cloth or canvas. Mrs. Man made a parka during the period of field work (Fig. 6, A) and explained that in her country, around Fort Liard, the garment continued to be manufactured. Two pieces are cut of the parka body (I) and sewn together back to front (h–d) and (e–g). The front of the parka is cut down from the neck as indicated by the broken line. The sleeve (II) is sewn from (e′) to (f) and then attached to the body (e′) matching (e), and (d′), (d). The hood (III) is sewn from (b) to (c) and then attached with opening (a–b) being sewn to the neck. In the sewing, point (b) matches the back center of the neck, and points (a) the front center of the neck on either side of the cut. When the hood is open it will be seen that there are two points (a). This pattern undoubtedly reflects the influence of commercially manufactured garments.

Women's dresses, underwear and stockings are worn for about a week before being laundered. Men may wear their clothes for two weeks or longer before washing. Girls or women wash clothes in galvanized iron tubs which are set on the ground or floor (Pl. 10, A) Water is heated on an open fire and poured into the tub, soap powder also being added. The laundress sits on a low box or fallen tree, or squats on the ground over the vessel. Washboards are not employed, although these are available at the stores. Squeezing the soapy water out of the garment with the right hand, the woman at the same time twists it between her two fists in a circular movement. The entire garment is gone over several times in this way. Clothes are not rinsed. When clean, the article is stretched to shape and thrown over a line strung near the camp. In traveling, garments, especially diaper cloths, are often spread on willows to dry. There is no common washday, a wife or daughter doing this task as the need arises.

Adornment. The principal ornaments worn by women are a rosary and a variety of hair ornaments, including combs with artificial flowers, clips, ribbons, and barrettes. Sometimes girls appear at dances with curlers in their hair. Men wear rings and arm garters. Both sexes frequently have wristwatches.

[17] On Christmas morning (1945) Harvey Cross, a Nelson Indian, wore a very decorative pair of mukluks.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

we examine the demographic data and view the amount of illness in the society we encounter situations in which adaptation is unsuccessful.

An inescapable conclusion is that Kaska society stands in a precariously balanced condition so far as its comfort and survival are concerned. The population was reduced by at least one-third within the last hundred years. During the period of study, the death rate probably equalled the birth rate, although effective means of birth control are not employed. The Kaska are not a healthy people. All of these facts are indicative of the threat faced by the society in solving the problems of survival. The society itself, however, cannot be held entirely accountable for failure to meet this threat. In the last hundred years the people have encountered many novel problems for which they were not prepared with traditional solutions. Illness, for example, probably increased after the Dease River and Klondike gold rushes. In confronting illness at the close of the nineteenth century, the people lacked even shamanism with which to fortify themselves psychologically against the menace of disease.[19] It would seem that as far as the high death rate and extensive morbidity are concerned, Kaska society is suffering the effects of culture contact. White diseases have taken their toll of the native population not only because the people were less resistant to disease (although their resistance leaves something to be desired), but also because once these illnesses were introduced, the Indians did not receive the same medical protection which reduces mortality in the white society.[20]

So far we have exonerated the society from failing to preserve the health and life of its members by pointing out that the strain of adaptation became considerably itensified following white contact. We will now consider some aspects of Indian motivation and behavior which, although ostensibly oriented toward survival, are actually contributing to discomfort and illness. The first of these is nutrition. At least during the winter, a majority of the society appears to suffer from inadequate caloric intake plus vitamin and mineral deficiencies. The consequences are seen in reduced energy and heightened susceptibility in disease. Malnutrition extends to children, in whom it may be seriously impairing physical and psychological development. The responsibility for undernourishment cannot be blamed upon a lack of education, since professional advice in food consumption, valuable as it may be, is after all limited to only a fraction of the world; nor can it be ascribed solely to acculturation. The causes for malnutrition appear to lie in the attitudes of the Kaska themselves as well as in conditions of acculturation. To dispose of the second point first, it seems likely that foreign penetration of the area within the last ten years (including the building of the Highway, airports, and the noise of aircraft) have resulted in a severe dislocation of game.[21] Such disturbances probably also followed influxes of gold seekers into the country and must be regarded as temporary. Currently, however, they appear responsible for the dearth of meat

[19] Honigmann, *Witch Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society* (1947), 236.

[20] Marchand, *Tribal Epidemics in the Yukon* (1943), 1010. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 28.

[21] Williams points out that "the noise of road building, including roar of machinery and blasting, has obviously driven wild life back from the Highway. With the quieter conditions of post-construction days, wild animals will doubtless return. . . ." Williams, *Geological Investigations Along the Alaska Highway from Fort Nelson, British Columbia, to Watson Lake, Yukon* (1944), 3.

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182 146 177 (which appears to be particularly severe in the Upper Liard region, which lies east of the Highway and along the air route), and for the consequent reduction of proteins and fat in the native diet.

182 146 511 Malnutrition, however, is also a consequence of the fact that people going into the bush in the fall are not in possession of sufficient purchased food for winter consumption. Grub often becomes exhausted before it can be replenished and for weeks adults and children are then forced to live on a diet of bannock or fatless bread, beans, fatless rabbits, and a little fruit. To understand the reason for such shortages requires an examination of the attitudes and behaviors with which the Kaska Indians approach the business of living. The gist of these factors reveals that the people are not able to insure the realization of their own ideal of an adequate standard of living. Little effort is made, for example, to secure more meat in the fall than is immediately consumed; hence there is no surplus which can be preserved for winter consumption. Such preservation would make grub stretch further and is, in fact, an ideal of the people. This observation is not made without being aware that resources of game have been disturbed by technological developments in the Cassiar. Admittedly that disturbance makes hunting more difficult and less rewarding. The fact is, however, that men tend not to hunt until a supply of meat is exhausted. Ideas of futurity, therefore, have little influence in determining hunting behavior. Trapping is similarly relatively little motivated by ideas of futurity. The long delays likely to ensue between visits to the trap line (delays which are ideally condemned by the people themselves), and the haphazard methods of trapping all result in an accumulation of fur too small to permit the supply of an adequate winter diet the following year. Furthermore, there is no realistic evaluation of the amount of food that will be required for winter consumption. Partly because of straitened circumstances and also for psychological reasons, which will be discussed in connection with the ethos of the society, people underestimate their needs and commonly forget important items of grub. Such neglect may lead to borrowing in the same or neighboring settlement, with the result that other families are quickly reduced to shortage.

182 511 As we have pointed out, few men buy their winter outfits for cash. The proceeds of the winter and spring fur sales quickly disappear to make up deficiencies occurring in the course of the winter bush life, to pay debts contracted the previous fall, and to live during the summer in Lower Post. People, therefore, live from hand-to-mouth, and if sickness enters the circle and disrupts winter trapping, severe disorganization must follow. Winter illness means the debt remains unpaid, additional credit is withheld or drastically reduced, and malnutrition with its evil consequences becomes intensified. A potential means of supplementing the winter's work by contracting labor to white men is neglected even by those men who do poorly in trapping and have most need for additional sources of income. The reasons for this reluctance to engage in wage work may be defined structurally (i.e., with reference to alternative or conflicting economic patterns) and psychologically. A structural explanation for the lack of interest in working for white men is to be found in the fact that another way of making a living, trapping, is readily available to the Indian. He can usually obtain a nominal amount of credit or otherwise secure (as, for example, by becoming an older man's helper) the minimal capital goods necessary for such independent production. Psychologically, as will be demonstrated in connection with Kaska ethos, the Indian prefers

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scribe the progress of a boat in rough water, the hand dips up and down as the arm is slowly moved from one side of the speaker's body to the other. Shooting of a gun is illustrated by holding the left hand close to the speaker's face, the fingers close together touching the thumb. The other arm is outstretched, the fingers held in the same position and directly in line with the left hand. When the speaker mentions the gun being fired, he spreads out the fingers of both hands in a quick, flaring, movement.

An obscene sign frequently demonstrated by boys and sometimes by girls is made by clenching the first with the thumb inserted under the index finger. This signifies coitus. In dancing hand pressing is often used as an erotic overture. A number of conventionalized gestures are used in the gambling game, including the indication of number by raising the corresponding number of fingers. Other signs include shaking the head up or down in affirmation or from side to side to express negation. The arms are used to express size. The left arm is stretched out, palm sideways, and size indicated with the right hand being placed at a right angle to the appropriate point. The point where the index finger joins the palm is marked off to indicate small size; the inside of the elbow or close to the shoulder are points marked off to show larger dimensions. To indicate height, the arm is outstretched palm sideways, the thumb slightly raised and the fingers close together. Height is indicated by the lowest portion of the hand. Nudging may sometimes be used for communication as, for example, to demand silence.

Aboriginally the Kaska possessed no writing. The syllabaries introduced somewhere in the Athapaskan area by Catholic and Protestant missionaries were not developed in the Cassiar. Traders took the pains to teach a few individuals to read and write simple words, but only a score or so Indian men are literate and less than half a dozen women. Today most children of from seven to fifteen receive a few weeks of instruction in writing and reading each summer in the Catholic mission school. Adults set a high value on literacy and many parents express the desire that their children master these abilities so that they will be able to write simple messages to the traders, read bills, and otherwise help the older generation adjust to modern conditions. Young children do not often share these attitudes, but some young men, like Nitla, spend several hours a week laboriously trying to learn to write words and coherent sentences. Several times Nitla asked the ethnographer for lists of familiar words such as the terms for commodities, local place names, and stock phrases ("I am going hunting,") which he could copy when the need arose.

Simple journals, often little more than calendars marking off the passage of the days and months, are kept by several young men. They contain brief notations of outstanding events (arrival of visitors, hunting data, departure from the trading post, etc.). Sometimes the writer forgets to enter a day in his journal and then his calendar is awry. Excerpts from the journal kept by Harry Lang in 1940 are given below; the original spelling and punctuation are preserved. Bracketed words are the ethnographer's.

Aug. 1.th 1940 Stay at Lower Post, yet.
Aug. 2.th 1940 Start from Lower Post
Aug. 3.th 1940 At [Joe] place. We camp.
Aug. 4.th 1940 Start camp at Frances River.
Aug. 5.th 1940 We get Home upper [Old Man] Creek.

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422 annoyance: "All winter people I feed." Chronically this man complained of his sons' thefts.
421 He was widely regarded as cranky and ungenerous. Similarly Old Man told the ethnographer that he didn't want to buy too large a supply of dog feed. If he did, he said, his sons-in-law would feel too free to use it. Light was thrown on attitudes toward too exclusive control
423 of property when Leonard Dick stayed a night in Mrs. Dickson's unoccupied cabin in
421 Lower Post. The next day he moved out and into a tent, despite the fact that his son was ill. We asked Old Man why Leonard did this. Old Man replied: "Maybe he hear kick coming. That's why he move out. Hard to get around that woman. She's mean . . . Anybody come around his place, she grab ax." The following day Old Man commented: "Some people pretty bad. Kick about it if you use their cabin or stuff winter time in bush. We do it just the same."

423 The principal forms of real property are land, houses, and caches. Each family head may be regarded as owning his trap line, a piece of territory varying in size from about two hundred to five hundred square miles. In British Columbia these trapping areas have been clearly mapped for each individual and the ownership is registered. Here trap lines are relatively small. In the Yukon, however, registered trap lines have not yet been introduced and considerably more confusion pertains to the boundaries of such a territory. Disputes over limits are not infrequent in the Yukon and, when these are called to the attention of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, they are generally adjudicated by fixing some waterway as the boundary. It is rare for such questions to be referred to the police. Generally a man who feels that his trapping privileges are being infringed upon remains content to complain to his friends and to gossip unfavorably about the infringer. There is apparently no severe shortage of trapping ground and most trap lines are far from completely exploited. Trap lines are owned by men with only two exceptions noted. In these two cases women received their lines from husbands.

Use of a trap line is freely granted to all the members of the owner's primary family and may also be apportioned among a man's younger brothers and, temporarily, to a partner. Following marriage of a daughter and matrilocal residence by a son-in-law, the head of the household assigns an area of the trapping territory for the use of the young man. A son-in-law refers to this area as "mine," and only when pressed will he recognize the fact that final ownership is still invested in his father-in-law.

Houses are built by men, but their ownership is theoretically vested in woman. Tents also belong to women; they are sometimes manufactured by women but may also be purchased by men. River Joe, who is part Taku Indian (a tribe which has probably been more strongly influenced by coastal Indian attitudes than the Kaska), expressed an atypical conception of house ownership when he indicated that houses may be linked through female relatives. Thus his house, which was owned by his deceased wife (a member of the Wolf moiety) was said to be linked to the house which his son-in-law, Louis Maza, had built and transferred to his wife (also a Wolf). Both houses were "just the same," River Joe affirmed.

422 Movable property includes all items of capital goods, meat, grub, skins, vehicles, clothes, and other personal belongings. Children are not regarded as owning property until they approach maturity. "Children got nothing," Old Man said. "Just they eat. When full grown, they have their own stuff. They get money from daddy or sometimes they good trappers and pick up their own stuff." A child's money is its own, even when held by

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ing a girl's genitals through her clothes or pressing the front of his body against hers, forcing her to remain against him. Sometimes a bold, intoxicated girl will cling against a boy's body, without, however, touching his penis. If sexual intercourse does not immediately follow, the boy may subsequently find many opportunities to caress the girl's body. For the most part such caresses are directed toward the hips and genitals. An interesting exception to the rule that breasts are not used as sexual zones comes from two young men, who had been outside to school, and in sexual situations grasped girls' breasts.

Intercourse is always carried out in privacy, usually at night, and is accompanied with little or no verbalization. A period of foreplay, in which the young man handles the girl's vulva and clitoris and presses his body and face close to the partner's, proceeds the act of coitus. During the foreplay the boy helps the girl remove her slacks and bloomers, but usually these garments are not entirely removed, the girl simply withdrawing one leg. The girl avoids the sight of her partner's nudity and carefully conceals her own sexual parts with her slip, dress, or blanket. Rarely will a girl assist in intromission. During coitus, in which the common ventroventral position is occupied, there may be some kissing. The coital rhythm of the male is described as slow and oscillating or wavelike, rather than sharp or jerky, with just a bare increase of tempo as ejaculation approaches. It would appear that not all girls attain the orgasm. The man's orgasm is relatively quickly attained and there is evidence that he is not concerned with waiting for his partner's climax. Following the orgasm there may be a brief period of relaxation in which additional kissing and close embracing occurs. In this post-coital relationship the girl is described as soothing and comforting.

Sexual intercourse is behavior which requires considerable patience and time. Both partners, after having signified their interest in the act, must wait until all strangers have retired or until older people are asleep. A boy's patience is also tested when there are rivals for a girl's favor at hand. Premarital sexual relationships do not ordinarily include an unmarried girl spending the night with her lover. While there is no evidence for assuming any shame or sadness immediately following coitus, the following day sees an embarrassed avoidance of unmarried sexual partners.

Up to this point we have described the pattern of sexual stimulation and intercourse for unmarried couples in summer. Variations occur in winter when the group is smaller and outdoor interaction difficult. In that season, sexual relations between unmarried people are often limited to occasions of visits. Then a boy will come to a girl's bed in the cabin after her parents are asleep. The older folks, if awakened, are said not to notice such behavior. Between husband and wife, as between an unmarried couple who have had sufficient opportunity to become sexually familiar, the period of sexual stimulation is limited to a more direct sexual approach which does not, however, always ignore foreplay, some wives being reported to arouse their husbands manually. Boys in general appear to be eager to secure new sexual partners and only as a last resort accept a willing partner who is apt to be one of the community's more promiscuous girls.

Attitudes toward sexual intercourse describe the situation as "dandy." Nevertheless there is some ideal uneasiness regarding too excessive indulgence as well as premature indulgence. Eighteen is commonly given as the age when sexual relations can safely be

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431 521 In contrast to the enthusiasm invested in the preparations for the party, there was very little emotional display at the meal itself, and several signs were observed of people being ill at ease. Thus it was necessary for Louis Maza repeatedly to urge people to go into the house and eat. Except among some old men, there was little sign of gaiety or festivity. As each man filed into the building he removed his hat and silently took his place. Conversation during the meal was slight.

431 535 178 Plans to revive the old fashioned potlatch dance were not fulfilled. A number of older people were finally persuaded to line up and execute a few movements, but this behavior was not spontaneous and the embarrassed laughter of the younger folks apparently disconcerted the dancers.

431 616 After having eaten, the guests gathered outside the house where two fires were built against the chill of the evening. Five gallons of coffee were heating alongside one fire. Louis Maza several times distributed cigars and cigarettes around the two circles of guests as well as oranges to the children, who were enjoying a riotous time. After the dishes had been washed by the women of the Wolf sib, the guests reentered the house to retrieve their cups, plates, and tableware. Considerable confusion resulted in this distribution and many people were unable to find their own objects. Even Louis Maza lost several of his own utensils, all of which suggests that some people, who had not come with tableware, went home with utensils not belonging to them.

[685]

On the day following the potlatch meal, a number of Crow people returned to Louis' house where his wife and her sisters distributed packages of food, tins of jam that had never been touched, fruit, and cake left over from the party.

The second potlatch on July 13 was designed as a return party by the Crow moiety. Louis placed himself in charge of the preparations and was assisted by his father-in-law. The cooking and serving were undertaken by Dorothy Plover, her cousin, and the ethnographer, who was conventionally designated as a Crow. The food was cooked in the residence of a white trader and transported to the potlatch in Louis Maza's boat. In Louis' house it was kept warm on the stove. The potlatch this time began at one o'clock in the afternoon and was completed by six o'clock. Behavior held to the same emotional tenor that was described for the first party except that considerable amusement was furnished by the several white trappers who attended while intoxicated but who caused no trouble. No attempt was made to introduce dancing, although a social dance in Liard Tom's house was announced as a part of the festival and took place later in the evening.

533 534 177 Music. The only musical instruments played by the Kaska are the violin and guitar. Many men are accomplished "fiddlers," while most boys and girls can play accompaniments on the guitar. All musical ability is patiently self-taught and is motivated by the individual's personal desire to learn. A new tune is generally picked up by listening to a Tahltan Indian visitor play it. The Tahltan, in turn, learn new melodies by listening to the recorded words and music. Such double, and sometimes triple, transmission by ear results in a melody often being considerably altered from its original form. The most popular tunes include: "I Know What It Means to be Lonely," "Take Me Back to Tulsa," "My Dixie Darling," "Wabash Cannonball," "Red River Valley," and "You Are My Sunshine." These are not only played at dances but are often sung or whistled around town and camp. Local Tahltan

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youths have improvised words to "Wabash Cannonball" which contain the refrain "Yukon cannonball." The prevailing theme of most of these songs is nostalgia, expressed as a longing for a loved and remembered place or an idealized woman. When played by the Indians, all of these melodies are transposed to a minor key, which further accentuates the nostalgic quality of the words and music. An undercurrent of gaiety and vivaciousness is introduced by the four-fourths time in which the tune is rendered. A number of people also own portable phonographs (locally called "gramophones") on which a variety of music, ranging from reels to ballet, is played.

Young men sometimes improvise short songs around commonplace activities. These are also sung in a minor key. Thus Nitla, while preparing to go hunting, sang of how he was going to get a moose. Song composition becomes freer when young men are intoxicated. Drunk in Old Man's camp one night, Peter Tom strummed his guitar and improvised a song around an incident that had occurred earlier that day. The words went:

I spit blood this morning
I don't want to die.
Ole-o-lady o . . . [yodling].

Dancing. One of the most popular recreational features are the dances marking summer evenings in Lower Post. Early in the summer, with many young people in town, such dances are held almost nightly. They are attended principally by young people, married or single, and by one or two white men. When the American soldiers were in the Kaska area a number showed up at these dances until the Army declared Lower Post out of bounds. The music is furnished by a violinist and one or two guitarists. Dances begin around midnight, when it is starting to get dark, and may continue to three or four o'clock in the morning. Later in the summer, as the nights get longer, dances start earlier. When a group of people want to dance they first ask the recognized musicians to play. The players receive no remuneration for their entertainment, although soldiers and white men sometimes collect a purse for them. The next task is to find a place to dance. River Joe's home, an unfinished trading store, and a deserted bunkhouse belonging to one of the trading companies were all well regarded as dance houses in 1944–45. Most of the time such accommodations are made available without charge; several times, however, River Joe sought to collect money from visitors attending dances in his house. He defended his behavior by speaking of the public dance hall at Teslin Lake to which admission is charged. Few people paid the requested fifty cents.

After a dance has been announced people congregate outside the building, while the players take their places at the back of the house near a lamp or candle. Several tunes go undanced before sufficient dancers venture inside the house or before people feel relaxed enough to go on the floor. Boys who have been drinking get the dancing underway more quickly, the availability of liquor, beer, or wine always making a more spontaneous and lively party. Within the dance house, the sexes line up along opposite walls of the building. When a man wishes to select a partner, he crosses the room and stops before the girl of his choice. She rises and, looking away from her partner, begins to dance with him. A girl continues to avert her face throughout the dance. The man holds his partner lightly and

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taneity in play. Most of their time is still spent close to the parents, sitting quietly or amusing themselves with desultory activities. This pattern conforms to the ideal for children's behavior. Parents try to restrain the exuberance of children. "Quit raising hell!" Mildred Lang called to Ann Wiley, six, who was dashing to and fro excitedly.[28] Nitla once remarked on this ideal when he compared Indian to white children. Indian children, he said, were "quiet all the time" while white children never sat still but ran around constantly and noisily. He confirmed the ethnographer's objection that not all Kaska children could be characterized as quiet. Some Indian children, he admitted, were "wild" in their play.

One of the outstanding features in the play of native boys and girls is the absence of cooperative activities, that is, enterprises that could not continue or would be disturbed if one of the participants withdrew. Most play may be characterized as parallel activity in which two or three children do the same thing although each remains primarily engrossed in his own routine. Thus children fish with bent pins, drag boats in the river, or run with home made wheel toys, each playing independently but gaining pleasure and stimulation from the presence of companions. The height of cooperative play is attained in later childhood, when an older boy wheels youngsters in a trader's wheelbarrow or in games of throwing balls. Girls begin camp play at about five or six and the game continues to adolescence but is little cooperative. "I lay down," a young child exclaims, whereupon the others follow suit. Older children may set up more elaborate "camps" in which broken stoves are used to heat tea or even to cook rabbit, but such make believe play as acting out the roles of husband and wife does not appear, each child remaining his own personality. Older children, including boys, sometimes join youngsters in building small camp fires on which water is boiled in vacuum tins and tea leaves with sugar added. The beverage is then shared by the group. Parents were not observed to participate in children's games.

Imaginative play is also limited in young children. Small cut out animals are prepared from cardboard by older children and used to act out sequences of moose hunting. Paper airplanes, made by folding and trimming a piece of heavy paper and then adding cut out wings and propellers by means of slits, zoom through the air and are identified as Japanese or American. Wooden guns, cut by fathers, are used by boys to shoot imaginary moose and enemies. The older folks also cut wooden boats out of poplar and cottonwood for a young child. A piece of tin may be cut in the shape of an outboard motor and fitted with a propeller that revolves when the boat is dragged in the river. Such craft are tied to a sticks that enable their owners to sail them several feet from shore. For girls there are dolls purchased at the traders'. Such babies are put to sleep in a wooden box, which we once saw a young girl dragging behind her. Generally, the number of toys into which a child can project fantasies is limited. Children show little inclination to share toys, and the attempts of other youngsters to appropriate objects may provoke aggression or flight. Generally there is little overt hostility in children's interpersonal relations and all manifestations of such behavior are promptly discouraged by parents.

Young dogs and puppies provide young boys in Lower Post with a popular source of amusement. Youths ride these animals like horses, tie objects to their tails, roll around with

[28] It is interesting to note that during school recess, the missionary urges the children to run and jump around rather than idle in quiet groups.

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583 (Peter Tom) were dashed when, after a period of living with his sweetheart, the girl's father
[177] (River Joe) forbade the legalization of the union by the missionary.

The English word "married" is generally reserved by Kaska speakers to designate unions which have been sanctioned by the Roman Catholic missionary. Approximately four out of five families with children have been instituted with religious sanction and the ideal attitudes of the people are strongly in favor of such "church marriages." "Married more better," River Joe explained. "No married, people split all the time that way." Generally by the time religious recognition of a marriage is sought, the couple have already "stayed together" in the girl's family for a year or more. Such staying together, once it has continued for a time, can be said to constitute "Injun married" or "blanket marriage."

From the foregoing it will be clear that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the period of bride service and the inception of a marriage relationship. Often the two gradually merge one into the other and it is mainly by the boy's behavior toward the girl that a state of marriage can be diagnosed. If the boy appears in public with his finacée, buys grub for her, and if they share their own dwelling, then marriage has occurred. Even these diagnostics may lack clear significance, however, in the case of an unattached older adolescent girl who seeks support for the winter by living with a youth (who purchases a joint winter outfit) but in the summer returns to independent living.

591 Following marriage, the woman gradually becomes known by the man's surname. The
[553] husband builds a cabin or tent frame near his wife's parents' dwelling. The form of marriage is always monogamous and has been so during the past forty years.

595 One rather exceptional instance of what might be considered as true polyandry was noted. For five years Dorothy Plover had been married to a white man who acknowledged some slight degree of Cree ancestry. He was much older than Dorothy and by him she had borne one child. In Lower Post, while continuing to live with this husband, Dorothy simultaneously began to live with another and also much older white man (her first husband's employer), who allegedly fathered her second child. After some months, Dorothy's first husband, although he continued to refer to the woman as his wife, moved a short distance from the town and Dorothy began openly to live with the putative father of her second baby. This behavior was commented upon rather unfavorably by several Indians, who referred to Dorothy's revival of an "old fashioned way." Dorothy's father, a Tahltan Indian, raised no serious objection to the second union when he visited Lower Post.

586 Non-support, cruelty, and infidelity are the reasons commonly given for divorce in
[177] Kaska society. Divorce is simply accomplished by separation, although when a church wedding has occurred this form of divorce is of course not sufficient to bring about legal dissolution of a marriage. Several years ago the remarriage of an improperly divorced man led to his arrest and imprisonment and the incident is still recalled as an illustration of the binding nature of church marriage.[32] Within the society little notice is taken of separation unless it occurs between a couple who have been married for some time and have children. In divorce, children remain with the mother unless they are old enough to prefer the father and able to care for themselves. Statistics on divorce were difficult to obtain. The incidence is undoubtedly high in marriages which do not have a legally binding character but here,

[32] See Old Man's autobiographical sketch below, p. 323.

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IDEATIONAL CULTURE

THE third major division of Kaska culture is built principally around the ideas and attitudes which the Indians direct toward the supernatural, natural, and social environments. These ideas, in many cases underlying behaviors described in the technical and social cultures, serve both adaptive and adjustive functions but in addition fulfill the important need of securing the individual's personal adjustment toward his known universe. Through these thought patterns the Indian strives to understand his experience.

In this division we will describe beliefs ranging from the fields of religion to natural history and human biology. We will discuss behaviors toward the supernatural environment and present activities illustrating the motivating role of other ideas. An attempt will also be made to understand the patterned, conscious and unconscious, thought and emotional processes of the people, and to outline the breakdown of rational control which occurs in some Indians when under the influence of alcohol or in mental disease.

NUMBERS AND MEASURES

Although the western system of numeration has been universally adopted in the Kaska area, few individuals are capable of extending such reckoning beyond one hundred. Arithmetical calculations are limited to simple mental addition and subtraction. No ritual or symbolic significance of numbers could be obtained.

The standard English system of weights and measures is in use, but the ability to understand these is not evenly developed. Most men have a fairly clear conception of mass measures, such as pounds, but a much more limited comprehension of length. When traveling along the crooked courses of rivers, Indians often refer to distance in terms of the number of points of land that must be rounded rather than the mileage that remains to be covered. There is keen interest in translating the distance between two known locales into miles but individual estimates are often widely at variance. White men are regarded as authoritative sources of such information, the ethnographer's maps being several times utilized in order to measure the distance from Lower Post to individuals' trap lines. Volume measures are also difficult for people to estimate, especially if a container is larger than five gallons.

In sewing the method of measurement is to compare the material to the span of the hand or the length of the arm. Rules, measuring rods, and squares are not used in carpentry or sewing.

Most Indians own clocks and pocket or wrist watches. These, however, are not primarily used to order time since most people are unable to read the dials and the measurement of time, like other measures, is only gradually being learned. Disagreement between time pieces is often considerable, especially in winter when, if a clock stops and there is no radio, the owner is only poorly able to guess at what hour to reset the instrument. The confusion resulting from Lower Post being on the boundary of two time zones is also partly responsible for the discrepancy between time pieces in summer. Individuals are not governed by time in the performance of customary activities.

By means of journals or by marking off the passage of days on a small calendar, an effort

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805 is made to keep track of the date. Alongside the use of this calendrical system, attention is still paid to dividing the year by moons. Instead of following the aboriginal system of referring to each new moon by a descriptive word or phrase (as, for example, "Moose moon" to designate the month when moose are fat), an effort is now made to correlate the moon with the western calendar system. This leads to some confusion. Thus the new moon around August 12, 1945 was referred to as "August moon" by one man but as "September moon" by another. However, opinion generally identifies the moon with the name of the following month. The Indians have kept track of the years only since about 1914. "Before we don't know years," Old Man explained. It may be added that since then, the Indian's memory for years is also not too reliable. As a result of the earlier ignorance of years, few older informants are certain of their ages. Some attempt has been made by the Indian Agents to determine ages by reference to the person's development at the time of the Klondike gold rush in 1898 or the outbreak of the European war in 1914.

The seasons are not precisely correlated with the calendar months in the thinking of the people and such "natural" divisions of the year hold considerable popular interest. The first dry snow, occurring in late October, is the beginning of winter. Spring comes when the crust of the snow begins to melt and the ice goes out in the rivers. Summer is the subsequent, relatively brief period of hot days, while fall follows when the deciduous trees begin to lose their color. Fall is also the time when game is fat and the bull moose begins, or is expected to begin, to run. All these phenomena are looked for and their appearance is associated with important changes in cultural activities.

LORE AND LEARNING

[181] 773 177 539 Kaska culture is characterized by little speculative or abstract thought. Aboriginal myths represent the limit of cosmological speculation and, in some cases, have become fused with western religious ideas. This may be illustrated by the creation myth obtained from Nitla.

The world was made by Jesus. At first there was a flood of salt water and only the sky was above the deep. Jesus then told the rat to plunge into the water and bring up some ground. The rat tried but "couldn't make it." The water was too deep and he died. Then Jesus sent a small duck (a species with a distinctive head and a cry like "rrrrrr")[1] down under the water to get ground. "He catch the ground. He come up, let him go. Ground soon grow and make big and bigger." The earth grew from the size of a little island. Jesus then sent a wolf down to see how big the ground was getting. The wolf began to run around the island but never came back. "Too big that ground. The wolf become game." Everything in the world originated from Jesus.

"Jesus, he make Injun. No Injun first time. Jesus think about it. Make ground, willows, anything grow. No hill, nothing. Just like dirt the ground. He make lots of birds; leave 'em anyplace. Birds sit down and sing. This ground alive. Birds live and grow." Then Jesus made the whitefish, trout, grayling, and other fish. They were intended as food on which the Indian could maintain himself. Jesus also created the moose and caribou. "These Injun grub. If man lucky he get this grub; if hard luck maybe he lost his game."

Then Jesus created the Indian. The first man was made out of mud and ashes, Jesus tracing the human figure in the soil—"head, legs, arm, hair, eye, anything." Jesus left the image and it was like a man asleep. When Jesus spoke to the figure, however, it couldn't answer. It couldn't

[1] This would seem to be one of the crested species of duck.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

breathe. "He think about it." Then Jesus brought a small bird and threw it into the clay mouth of the image. Again Jesus spoke to the man and this time the figure replied with speech. "He talk damn good."

Jesus thought about what He had done. He decided that He ought to make a girl for this man. Giving the man some "lunch," Jesus told him to go to sleep. Then cutting into the man Jesus removed a left rib—the last rib. He put this under the blanket next to the man. When the man awoke a woman was sleeping alongside of him. Jesus told the man to "keep" the girl. He told the couple to raise children. When the man and woman died, Jesus said, the children would marry and they would have children and so there would always be people in the world.

Aboriginal elements are more sharply delineated in the myth of the origin of the sun and moon,[2] which was obtained from the same informant.

At first there was no light, just perpetual darkness. The sun and moon had a boss and were kept in a cabin where they furnished never failing light. The keeper of these bodies had a wife, who had a daughter. This girl drank water in which there was some dirt. She was unsuccessful in purifying the water and as a result of swallowing the dirt conceived and gave birth to a boy. The boy "grow smart quick." When he was able to walk around he began to cry and demanded the moon to play with. His grandfather assented and gave the moon to the child. The boy rolled the moon back and forth in the cabin until it accidentally rolled out the door and away. From then on moonlight appeared.

The next day the little boy began to cry for the sun. The grandfather heard him and exclaimed: "I'm tired of hearing that crying. Give it to him." So the mother gave the child the sun as a plaything. The boy rolled the sun back and forth until it too rolled away. Now the family found itself in darkness. They went to sleep. In the morning upon awakening they found daylight everywhere. "Good now. No more hard time."

Although lacking a comprehensive sample of Kaska speculation, we may nevertheless provisionally seek to classify their reflective thought. Ontologically the people are, of course, supernaturalistic in their conceptual perspective. That is, they tend to refer ultimate explanations of being to a principle which is beyond nature. Today this being is generally identified as an anthropomorphic God. It is not surprising to find this ontological theory associated with the metaphysical duality of mind and matter. Such dualism is evident in the notion that a person's thoughts can influence the capture of game and fur because of a power which is continuous with man's mind and also controls the animal world. Dualism also manifests itself in the idea of divination, in the ethical conceptions of free will and predestination, and in the belief that human life depends on the correlated functioning of body and soul. Explicitly, of course, the notion of metaphysical duality has never been formalized in Kaska philosophy.

One characteristic of epistemological thinking stands out clearly, the relative nature of truth. The Indian does not regard his thinking in absolutist, or universal, terms of validity. "That's what Injun believe," Old Man would say, implying the realization that white and other people have conceptual systems which differ from that held by the Kaska. Knowledge to the Indian is derived from experience and tradition. Since not all peoples have the

[2] The same tale occurs among the Kutchin and also the Tlingit. See Chapman, *Notes on the Tinneh Tribe of Anvik, Alaska* (1907), 8–10; Pinart, *Notes sur les Kolouches* (1872), 797–798.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

as Nitla explained, a "good trapper. He watch his trap line. Every two days he look his traps, fix his traps. He hunt too." He keeps his house well supplied with meat, wood, and grub. The ideal man shows courage without being foolhardy. "Somebody fight him, he tell him: 'Don't fight.' He save his life that way." Associated with the idea of courage is the ability to withstand discomfort. A good man must be "tough," able to travel long distances on foot, while bearing up under cold and hunger. In his ideal proportions a man shows skilfulness; he traps well; can make necessary tools, apparatus, and vehicles, and undertake a variety of repairs. Male informants did not report marital faithfulness as an ideal masculine virtue.

The primary qualifications for the ideal woman are faithfulness, thrift, industry, and skill. "You got a good woman," Nitla explained, "He can't leave you. Me, I want him. [If] I teach that girl: 'You leave him, that fellow'—that kind of woman no good. Good woman—try, try I get him—he don't want me. That number one woman. Smart woman." Not only does the concept of marital faithfulness include an absence of extramarital promiscuity, but it also denotes a wife's devotion to her husband, her care for his welfare and comfort. A woman's thrift also reflects her virtue. Thus Old Man often praised his wife for the manner in which she earned money by trapping and selling her own fur, saving the proceeds. So far as a woman's industriousness is concerned: "Good woman wash clothes, do something, cook anything. Fix the plates. Damn number one woman. That woman just the same queen. She catch fur too. She help her man. Best one." Feminine virtue includes skill. A good woman can cook well, trap effectively, lace good snowshoes, and make outstanding moccasins and clothes. A skilful industrious woman will not visit around too often but spends most of her time keeping her camp in order. Courage is not valued in a woman. Generosity, with those objects which a woman controls, and absence of aggression are further female virtues. An ideal woman may drink, but in doing so she "look after her man; wouldn't bother another man. Just talk fun."

RELIGION

Religious beliefs are of minor importance in Kaska life and the culture includes no religious ceremonials beyond the Mass and other introduced Catholic devotions. The general conception of the supernatural consists of an imposition of Christian (Catholic) attitudes on vague and disappearing elements of native belief. Both the Christian and the aboriginal elements are loosely comprehended, although an attempt has begun in the mission schools to formalize Christian beliefs in children. The general orientation of the religion tends to place all natural phenomena, including human life, in a universe controlled by supernatural agencies or "bosses." Since the techniques for soliciting this supernatural power are little stressed the individual—as well as all of nature of which he is part—would seem to enjoy a kind of fatalistic existence. This deduction is partly belied by the fact that the relative absence of supernatural supplication does not stem from attitudes of fatalism, but rather from an empirically grounded idea that in everyday things the individual's persistence and activity must also be counted on to solve problems of living.

Three main orders of the supernatural environment are distinguished by the Kaska. The first of these contains the executive agencies of natural phenomena—the "bosses" of the

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

776 clouds, water, earth, and animals. Although these bosses are often referred to in anthropomorphic terms, there is evidence that the executory forces behind the natural phenomena are not always so understood. The second supernatural order is reserved for an anthropomorphically conceived Supreme Being, an aspect of religious thinking that was probably strengthened following white contact. The final order of the supernatural includes the devil.

Of the nature bosses, our data permit discussion only of the executive agency operating behind the animal world. Although there seems to be no clear idea as to whether the real animals encountered in the forest are individually capable of knowing the intentions of men, or whether it is a superior intelligence behind the fauna which has this ability and operates through the creatures, the latter reading seems best to fit the facts. This, however, is only one of several possible interpretations. A better deduction (for which there is no clear evidence) might be to regard the spiritual components of the real animals as mystically identical with the total supernatural realm in whose intelligence man and the various species participate. We will assume that it is the supernatural animal realm which possesses final intelligence and power and which, somehow manifesting itself through the forms of real animals, bestows supernatural power on men. This intelligence is also capable of frustrating the efforts of a trapper, who desires fur "too much," by keeping the animals away from that person's traps.

776 The relationship of the Supreme Being to the nature bosses was never expressed and
177 probably has never been speculated upon. From statements of informants it is possible to see this Being as superior to the lesser supernatural agencies and as a kind of final and creative authority. The Supreme Being is identified as God or Jesus. As is indicated in Nitla's statement that Jesus is "head man" and "boss of this ground," Jesus and God are sometimes thought of as one; at other times, however, Jesus is referred to as the son of God. Nitla spoke of Jesus having been killed by hostile soldiers who were instigated to their deed by a wealthy but evil king. By His death Jesus made a trail upon which the people could reach heaven. Prior to His killing, people could not achieve heaven but had to "stop this side." The Supreme Being resides in heaven and is the final judge of the actions of men.

776 The conception of the devil was not much better elaborated. In general he seems to be the boss of evil, operating through people who are hereditarily or wilfully disposed to follow his influence. The devil is also capable of controlling the actions of certain animals which he apparently created, such as the grizzly bear. By instigating the grizzly to kill men, the devil can claim the spirits of the animal's victims.

Mythologically there is a fourth realm of supernaturals, mainly cannibalistic monsters, like the giant frog, jackfish, and elephant, which formerly menaced people and are still occasionally feared, perhaps because of their association with the devil. A few people spoke of these creatures with manifest emotion and sincerity. Two persons, Old Kean and his grandson, twelve year old Jack, identified a number of the Rorschach inkblots as such mythological monsters.

778 Both people and animals (who, a long time ago, were also people) may sometimes
776 possess supernaturally derived power. The acquisition of such power by individuals is no longer of great social importance, but few individuals were willing to discuss the concept frankly. When intoxicated, however, several young men were reported to have announced

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

their possession of power, tracing it to the agency of animals. As near as could be learned, power (which is sometimes called "medicine") denotes that the person is under the protection of an animal supernatural on whose assistance he can rely. Any animal or game bird can bestow such benefits on an individual, who may solicit their interest by isolating himself in the bush. Apparently, however, purposeful isolation is not essential in order to obtain supernatural help, a person sometimes receiving an indication of such attention without any effort on his part. The acquisition of power is signalled by a vision or, perhaps, a dream in which an animal manifesting human attributes speaks to the individual. Sometimes a vision is not readily forthcoming even when solicited and was in fact denied to Nitla who said: "Some people go stay in brush alone. Got medicine. I can't make it, me. I'm too young. I'm just try first time. Nothing see me . . . Something don't want me." He was not disturbed on account of this lack of success.

A different type of supernatural power, one that is more readily talked about, promotes aid and protection. This may be acquired through possession of religious symbols like crucifixes, prayer books, and rosaries. Many people carry such objects on their persons whenever they leave camp. Once Nitla said that he would request the "mission man to give cross for me and wife. Grizzly bear can't bother that one. Somebody say that way. I believe him." Lowering his voice the informant added that a crucifix would also keep a seducer away from a man's wife. It would protect both the husband and woman from sexual aggression. A few weeks later Nitla was seen wearing a rosary around his neck. Small gospels distributed by the priest are also carefully kept. Paulette Donnelly embroidered a moosehide "Bible case" to contain one of these slim volumes.

Occasionally occurrences are interpreted as resulting from a favorable disposition on the part of the supernatural environment. Thus a man may ascribe his luck in killing a moose to the fact that he has had the cooperation of the animal realm. Many more times, however, references to luck are simply offhand mentions of a fate whose character the individual is not troubled to analyze.

Two states of existence are possible for the spirit in the afterlife. For those whose lives were free from evil there is heaven and everlasting happiness; for the evil there is hell. Just as heaven is identified with God, hell is associated with the devil. This correlation of an afterlife with the morality of the spirit's earthly career is not perfect, however, since, regardless of his conduct, any person killed by a grizzly bear must go to the bear's "daddy" —the devil. Although hell is recognized as an unpleasant place, few people admitted any realistic fear of it.

The idea of praying for the welfare of the dead is known to some informants as a result of church attendance. This suggests the beginnings of belief in a third, temporary state of spiritual existence—purgatory.

Alongside the idea of spiritual immortality remains a belief in reincarnation, the rebirth of the spirit in a child who, as he grows older, recognizes the world as a place where he has already been. One or two children were mentioned who had revealed this *déja vue* experience.

Several forms of divination are practiced more or less seriously by a few Indians. Sometimes the leaves in a tea cup are inspected in order to foretell the results of a prospective

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cent animals' flesh. Some fathers warn their sons not to eat moose marrow, the explanation being that marrow will destroy the boy's endurance and thus limit his moose hunting ability. A number of families avoid feeding their dogs the meat of trapped animals explaining: "If you do, never catch anything next time." Considerable respect is shown to the bear. Coming across a bear, River Joe once refused to kill the animal, vaguely explaining his behavior by saying that the meat was not good to eat. On another occasion the ethnographer's four year old son several times threw a bear paw into a brush fire. Each time Donald Suza pulled it out and finally threw the part into the river. He would not reveal his objection to burning the paw. In discussing the incident Old Man explained that the Frances Lake Indians continue to regard "many things" as "bad business" and added that Lady Suza will not eat bear meat.

The only religious rites and ceremonies in which the Kaska participate are those officiated by Catholic missionaries. Such ceremonies include baptism, prayer, Mass, confession, and communion. During the summer, nightly devotions in Lower Post bring many people together to recite one or two decades of the rosary. The prayers are said in English, although a few people also know them in Kaska. Apart from such occasions, prayer is limited. River Joe said that during his wife's illness he had prayed for her improvement. The woman died and Joe is reported to have expressed resentment that his prayers were not answered. During the summer, Mass is celebrated every morning but in winter it is limited to Sundays. How well the symbolism and liturgy of the rite are understood could not be learned. When attending church services the sexes generally separate, men sitting on the left side of the building and women on the right.

Many people go to confession about once a year to confess such sins as drinking, swearing, and sexual offenses. The confession, according to Old Man, is prompted by the priest asking questions like: "Did you swear?" and then requesting the number of times that the offense was committed. Following confession the people may receive communion.

Christmas is the most important ceremonial holiday. In the winter settlements its celebration is sometimes begun on Christmas eve, when a brew is drunk; drinking may continue for several days. If the people are in the trading post, Mass is attended Christmas morning and, sometimes, an afternoon church party is given for children. In the summer of 1945, a religious ceremony occurred in connection with the consecration of the new church in Lower Post. The rite was performed by the bishop of the diocese and was witnessed by all the Indians then in the community. On the following morning a solemn high Mass was celebrated by the bishop assisted by two missionaries. Both ceremonies were marked by considerable glamor and quite appreciated by the Indians.

Attitudes of the people toward the priests vary, but in general are marked by respect and some tendency to ingratiation. In the case of many people one of the reasons for attending religious rites is a desire not to expose themselves to the direct attention of the missionaries. The priests, who are young men, try to be friendly and democratic and appear to be sincerely interested in the Indians' temporal and spiritual welfare. Any direct interference of the missionaries in the life of the people is resented and may lead to an informal boycott of the church and school. Old Man stated that once when a missionary reported him to the police for drunkenness, he remained away from church until the priest suitably

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in heaters even when green. Balsam is found in high mountains on rocky soil. The wood is good for fuel when dry and is easy to chop. The brush is particularly comfortable, its softness being compared to silk. People also regard the odor of balsam brush as highly pleasant.

Miscellaneous. Cosmic phenomena have stimulated relatively little speculative thinking among the Kaska. There is, for example, no clear idea if the moon and sun are male or female. Nitla had once vaguely heard that in May the moon is a woman. This may be a reflection of the Catholic belief regarding May as the month dedicated the Virgin Mary. There are no ideas of the moon affecting human behavior. The big August moon is a sign that game is fat but the planet itself does not influence the growth of game. Eclipses are noted with wonder but no interpretation of their cause or function could be obtained.[6]

Some men, notably Old Man and River Joe, possess a good knowledge of hydrographic phenomena, like the ability to "read water," which has been derived from long experience working on traders' river boats. It is widely recognized that rivers like the Liard, which rise in mountains, freeze quickly. On the other hand, rivers like the Frances and Dease, which have their sources in large lakes, take longer to ice over. People desire river ice to form quickly, as this assures a smooth surface that is ideal for toboggan travel. In hauling wood on sleighs and toboggans, the vehicles are often run on the smooth shore ice of rivers.

Directions are not related to the cardinal points and few Indians could indicate north or south. References to direction are generally by the courses of rivers or by known landmarks identified with place names.

HUMAN ORGANISM

In this section are reported knowledge and attitudes concerning the structure and functioning of the human body as well as information, based on reports, observation, and clinical testing, regarding socially patterned psychological processes. It is obvious that some of the data consists of popular, scarcely formalized beliefs, which may vary considerably between different individuals, especially between members of different tribal districts. Some of the ideas may be survivals of aboriginal conceptions. These, however, in contemporary Kaska thought are associated with attitudes which have undoubtedly been acquired from missionaries and other white men. As in the case of religion, no attempt has been made to classify aboriginal retentions apart from introduced ideas, our purpose being to describe the content of knowledge regardless of its sources.

Bodily Structure and Function

The pattern of human growth is compared to the development of other aspects of nature. "Anything in the ground he grow. Soon big grow; no more he grow. Injun just the same." Growth of the body is a function of bone development. Girls mature more rapidly than boys.

Weather, food, and heredity are the principal factors determining the growth process. Summer is a more favorable period for human development than winter, so again it would seem as though the organism is viewed as developing in harmony with the rest of the

[6] Nitla remembered an eclipse of the moon which he had witnessed two years previously. He still recalls the phenomena with wonder. See his autobiographical sketch below, p. 352.

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827 828 201 Frowning is a sign of anger or disapproval. Sneering could not be explained to the informant and, in fact, was not observed among the Kaska.

827 Sneezing and a running nose are generally symptomatic of a cold, although sneezing sometimes indicates that a person will receive good news. The nasal discharge originates between the eyes at the head of the nose. A running nose is preferred to nasal congestion and consequent shortness of breath, which may, it is thought, lead to death.

Among ocular and auricular reactions, weeping is regarded as caused by sadness and depression. Winking is a voluntary response with humorous and sexual overtones. Ringing in the ears constitutes a phenomenon likely to occur when a man is too much alone, but may also be produced by accumulated ear wax. "Seeing stars" may be brought about by excessive heat or a disordered stomach as, for example, a stomach poisoned from bad water.

No ideas of shame or embarrassment are attached to most oral reactions, a person feeling free anywhere to hiccough, yawn, or eat, although most people refrain from spitting on a lumber floor. There is some self-consciousness about coughing in a strange camp, for fear that the owner will consider the response "dirty" or unhygienic. Hiccoughing is the result of an overstuffed stomach, which causes some food to lodge in the esophagus, blocking the passage of wind and causing air to be taken in huge sudden gulps. Hiccoughing is sometimes [777 787] regarded as an omen of good luck, promising meat or fur. No means is known for relieving this condition. Yawning is a sign of fatigue, but may also be a product of hunger and consequent weakness. It is relieved by a cup of tea. Spitting is regarded as ridding a person of excess mucus secreted by the nose and mouth. Its prevalence has already been discussed. Constriction or irritation of the throat, such as may come from smoking, leads to coughing, although sometimes this reaction originates from a disturbed stomach. Swallowing the "wrong way" is dangerous, because it may result in food being carried into the lungs where it may decay; "pretty soon man die."

827 191 Vocalization, or speech ability, appears when a child becomes half smart. Shortly after birth, however, a mother may wipe her index finger around the baby's mouth to insure that the child will not be mute. As the child grows, he begins to make meaningful sounds and finally, informants said, begins to imitate words uttered by the parents. In this way language is acquired by each successive generation. The people believe their own language easier to learn than English.[7]

827 Digestion is primarily promoted by the stomach grinding up food. The intestines continue the digestive process by further grinding. Illness results if, for any reason, the digestive ability of the stomach become impaired. Digestion renews the blood—"cleans" it. If this

[177 539 191] [7] A mythological account of the origin of linguistic diversity offered by Nida is interesting because of the fact that it is almost an exact transcription of the Eleventh Chapter of Genesis. The myth follows: Originally all the people spoke only one language and there were only white people. They piled a great structure up in the air trying to reach the sky. Then the white people went to sleep, planning to finish the tower on the following day and cut through the sky. During the night the poles they had erected collapsed. "They can't make it up there. They make trouble. The pile slide down everything. Tomorrow try we talk this fellow; he can't make understand nothing what you say. Another fellow try. Can't hear nothing. All men different talk." Gradually groups of people withdrew and taught one another the language of one of their members. These groups now began to disperse to different countries and there further developed their languages. At this time too the Crow and Wolf moieties developed and the Indians became distinguished from white people.

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cleansing did not take place, a person would soon die from the effects of bad blood coursing through his body. The manner in which the blood and stomach interact with each other was not clear to the informant, who emphasized that blood could not enter the stomach or intestines without endangering life. 827

The sexual impulse in the male is believed to originate in the genitals, whose excretory and sexual functions are closely under the influence of the kidneys. The kidneys stimulate sexual desire when they become "too rich." The testicles are responsible for erection, and their excision also causes sexual desire to diminish or disappear. In a woman, the uterus arouses desire, while a stimulation of the clitoris increases the tension and, in copulation, leads to orgasm. In coitus each partner produces equivalent secretions. In the male the semen originates in the kidneys; the origin of the vaginal secretion is not known. These secretions are regarded as akin to blood, intercourse therefore resulting in a mixture of bloods. 827 831

The Kaska have no theory to explain menstruation, Nitla dismissing the question by referring to the process as "God business." He added his own version of a common attitude toward the menstruant: "No good for man . . . keep away from it that kind" and expressed the belief that intercourse with a menstruating woman tended to promote quick conception. No evidence of menstrual pain or discomfort could be obtained. As we have evidence of girls being periodically indisposed, it might seem that dysmenorrhea is not common. Amenorrhea is reported to have followed miscarriage in Lois Prince. In some women menopause is associated with headaches, abdominal and back pains, and general despondency. 827 841

Coitus, as was pointed out, leads to an interchange of the blood of the sexual partners; the man receives some of the woman's blood and the woman some of the man's. Conception, apart from spiritual reincarnation, is a result of the amalgamation of the bloods in the uterus, while in pregnancy the uterus, which has "caught" the male semen, begins to grow, surrounding the embryo with water. Apparently subsequent coitus of the woman may influence the embryo's development. This is suggested by the statement that if a woman, who has conceived, is unfaithful to her husband, the resulting mixture of two men's blood may result in damage to the forming organism. A child thus influenced in its embryonic development will be born "mean," that is, with an aggressive disposition. [827 831] 842

Despite the ideal desirability of children, formulae for limiting as well as promoting conception are known. Only one formula for helping a woman to conceive was obtained. This prescribes that eating fetal rabbits will promote quick conception. While coitus during menstruation is said to facilitate conception, the practice is not specifically recommended for barrenness. The primary motives for having children include a desire "for company," but are chiefly economic. It is expected that when children grow old enough to hunt and assist in housework they will become economic assets making it possible for parents to retire from many routine tasks. 842

Mary Wiley and Paulette Donnelly stated that they did not want children. Another girl, Lois Prince, following a miscarriage decided that she did not again want to conceive and sought to induce sterility by piercing the afterbirth of the stillborn fetus with porcupine quills. This method of sterilization is said to be restricted to the Nelson Indians. When Mary Wiley sought to prevent conception, she followed an Upper Liard Indian custom. 842 177

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842 Taking a three foot long piece of a bear's small intestine, she tied it around her abdomen next
177 to the skin. This belt was worn for ten days. Although married for three years, Old Man reported, Mary has not yet produced a child. More direct methods of contraception are limited. The condom (locally called "French safe" or "safe") is not used as a contraceptive, its employment being mainly confined to protecting boys against venereal disease. One woman, who is married to a white trapper and has six children, reported having unsuccessfully used chemical suppositories purchased by mail in order to avoid pregnancy. Another childless woman, who has been married to a white trapper for six years, was reported to have advised washing vulvae and vagina with hot water following intercourse in order to control conception. The number of children a woman brings into the world is not a prestige point in Kaska society nor is barrenness a disgrace. These attitudes may therefore be regarded as supporting the desire of some women to avoid pregnancy. A family with many children is sometimes re-
843 ferred to as "tell ducks," because this species reproduces prolifically. There is also a belief that if a family has no more than seven children, then all will live. To have more, however, increases the danger that many will die. "Maybe true," Old Man remarked. "Look at River Joe. I had nine; pretty near all I lose." Too many pregnancies are also regarded as quickly aging women.

842 Old Man reported that among the Upper Liard Indians, children are always spaced two years apart, leaving a year between pregnancies. No evidence could be obtained that such spacing is deliberate. Systematic contraception and prolonged sexual avoidance of a woman following childbirth were both explicitly denied. "I know myself," Old Man insisted. "My wife like that. I never sleep alone. Every other summer baby start." The significantly high rate of summer conception, already pointed out,[8] was further corroborated by Old Man. Out of six children born to him, four were probably conceived in the period of June and early July. An explanation for the phenomenon may lie in the fact that the generally increased social stimulation of summertime in Lower Post, together with the greater privacy of tent living, and the opportunities for couples to retire to the privacy of the bush in this season, may provide greater opportunity for coitus and increase sexual stimulation more than life in the crowded winter cabins. In other words, the relatively greater frequency of summer conception is to be explained by the interaction of climatic and social factors.[9]

153 *Motor habits.* In general the Indians are relaxed in everything they do, never awkward, and exhibit few postural signs of tension. Many motor habits in connection with the performance of cultural activities have been described in other portions of this report and only certain general motor patterns, such as sitting, walking, hand preference, and handshaking remain to be discussed at this point.

516 In sitting on the ground, a man rests on his heels with his legs drawn under the buttocks, his knees apart. Often, especially outdoors in warm weather, men squat on the flat of their feet, the knees drawn up below the chin close to the body. In front of a campfire or stove and in a tent men generally recline, resting on one elbow, the legs outstretched. All three of these postures are avoided by women. A woman typically sits on her heels with her legs

[8] See above, p. 37.

[9] Compare Montagu, *Climate and Reproduction* (1939).

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should be kept warm in order to promote rapid healing; this care is especially important in winter. Nosebleed is often permitted to continue without interference, the victim leaning forward to allow the blood to drop on the ground. Excessive bleeding of this kind may lead to attempts to staunch the flow of blood with a cloth and sometimes the little finger is tied with a string to stop the circulation before it reaches the nose. Balsam pitch, when available, is applied to burns. The treatment of snowblindness consists primarily in avoiding exposure to strong light. In an emergency, broken bones are set by anyone who feels capable of the operation and mobility is later aided with a crutch made of a single pole, shoulder height, on which is nailed a semicircular wooden support for the armpit. One report was obtained about an old man who, paralyzed on one side, was provided with a small "sleigh" with wooden wheels. To this a dog was harnessed and thus the man could move around camp.[16] Frances Lake Indians sometimes treat swellings and pains in the joints with a charcoal cross drawn over the affected spot. Patent medicine liniments are used for muscle aches and their application may be accompanied by some massage of the painful area. Frozen members of the body are thawed with snow, which is gently applied but not rubbed in place. Corns, regarded as the pecular affliction of men, are cut out at the root with a pocket knife, "Women can't get it," Old man said, referring to corns. "Maybe because they stay in camp, warm place." In recent years any serious bodily injury, including toothache, has been referred to white medical attention when possible.

Kaska society has formulated no clear and explicit theory of disease. As a result several vague but not necessarily conflicting notions of the origin and cause of illness obtain among different individuals. Thus commenting on his cold, Hans suggested that "wind" must have brought the "cold sick" from "down there," gesturing down the Liard River. The notion of communicable diseases being borne in the air or wind is closely allied to the notion of disease transmitted in interpersonal association to which we have already alluded. In referring to the fact that he and his wife had suffered from dysentery during the winter, Billy Barre said that people were "packing" the disease around with them "just like wind."

Some illnesses, especially cold, are believed to result from exposure to wet and cold. Thus Old Man felt he had caught a bad cold during his walk home from Old Kean's place in the autumn rains. Summer days of strong wind and flying dust usually provoke people to comment on the dust as being injurious to health. The dust raised by dancing on a wooden floor also stimulates complaints from people who ascribe sore throats to this irritant. Another point of view ascribes illness to internal disorders, particularly disorders of the stomach and liver. Louis Maza, in relating the story of his first son's death, said the child had been carried on the back of one of the older girls. He suspected that in the packing one of the baby's ribs had somehow been struck with the result that the liver had become damaged. Death followed in a few days.

Less frequently is the origin of a specific disease ascribed to the spirit of a dead person and rarely to sorcery. Informants were consistent in denying belief in "bad medicine."[17] While recognizing that such attitudes had formerly occurred in the society, today, ac-

[16] The wheel is not aboriginal in Kaska culture.

[17] Kaska ideas about sorcery may be divided into two types, first, those surviving from aboriginal times and, second, "witch-fear," which appeared in the post contact society and lasted until about 1915. See Honigmann, *Witch-Fear in Post-Contact Kaska Society* (1947).

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the white man's law and the regulative functions of government. Nitla's words demonstrate the connection between a desire for inviolable independence and the denial of external authority: "Injun nothing boss. He feed himself. He live on the meat. Nothing boss the Injun." Going on, he sought to point out the meaninglessness of authority which is not legitimized by a validated protective role. Game, Nitla said, is fed by Jesus, not by the government. Jesus "make this ground . . . He the boss for it. Well, He make white people, He make game, anything. Well, He boss to anything." The white man made nothing in the native's environment, hence he cannot properly assume authority.

In his ingroup relationships the Indian is also self-centered and nonauthoritarian. He does not seek authority in interpersonal relations, and others can scarcely tell him what to do—initiation of activity must come from within. Egocentricity thus leaves little room for patterns of leadership. Few people know how to direct others effectively and white men who try to originate action in social affairs, like dances or trading, meet with apathy and usually fail to realize their suggestions. In most cooperative enterprises, like berry picking or poling a boat, each participant selects his role with a minimum of direction. Within the Indian community, there is a consistent reluctance to give direction or, except in cases of manifest danger, as in adapting to the winter environment, even venture direct suggestion. "We do it this way," the Indian says when approached for help or advice, the implication being that the pupil may or may not follow the traditional pattern. There is little attempt to force adherence to habitual modes of procedure. Personal standards govern the manufacture of cultural products. For example, Hans Donnelly provoked considerable amusement when he constructed a doorway to his tent frame which only suited his own small dimensions, and built a toboggan that was also smaller than most of these vehicles. Although they may be extreme, these examples are not exceptional. Instead of cultural objects being manufactured in close accordance with traditional forms, we find toboggans lashed with insulated wire cable, and other cultural products utilizing scraps of material salvaged from the refuse dumps behind Watson Lake Airport. Any analysis of material products of behavior confirms the absence of formal patterns and indicates the readiness with which variations are developed.

Self-interest sometimes leads to selfishness, people generally showing little appreciation of values like self-sacrifice. When in danger a man tends to look out for himself or his immediate family. Old Man, going home from a dance at which there had been drinking, saw a car in town belonging to the Mounted Police but warned nobody of what was certainly a threatening state of affairs. On another occasion Dorothy Plover's sister warned her brother, who was intoxicated at a dance, that the provincial policeman was walking through Lower Post. The two young people fled without warning anyone else. Self-interest is revealed historically in the fact that once when a social ideology was adopted (under the leadership of a white man), one Indian at least clearly manifested a primary concern with personal gain. The Kaska Indian's preoccupation with his own welfare is even expressed in his complaint that the government does not help the Indians; in reality the center of reference is the speaker, who sees himself standing to benefit from any generous Indian policy.

In some cases egocentricity is overdeveloped to a point where it motivates deviant behavior. Such an individual neglects to project his desire for independence and personal

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tected state of childhood, that existed before parents instituted emotional rejection and is symbolic of the love and care which were lavished on the helpless baby in the early satisfaction of his alimentary needs.[39] We have stated love to be the ultimate goal of dependence. In Nitla we see this expectation directed toward white men—the government, traders, and, indirectly, the ethnographer who had just fed him. Of Nitla's leeching tendency there can be no question. Like several other youths, he always showed up at our house around meal time and never refused to eat. We may conclude that receiving food from white people, or receiving food in general, is unconsciously equivalent to receiving love and security. Psychoanalysts have long maintained that passivity and orality are related; this relationship is well demonstrated in Kaska personality, where passive receptive attitudes represent a means to acquire security and protection without exercise of self-assertion. A similar note is struck in Louis Maza's dream, related when the ethnographer visited his home in September. He dreamed that a white man told him of a creek where gold could be found. The stranger reminded Louis that the latter had often crossed this creek. "There's gold there," the white man said. "You have a pan, use it. Go there." In associating, Louis tried to figure out to which creek the reference applied. Again in this product of unconscious thinking, a white man is pictured as a benefactor. Louis is a relatively insecure person preoccupied with the idea of getting out of debt. In the dream his goals are passively solved, although there is the realistic note that Louis must still find the gold. Indians are not concerned with prospecting for precious metal, so that the occurrence of gold in Louis' dream may have a special but unknown significance for his personality.

During the construction of the Alaska Highway, dependence was inadvertently satisfied by the generosity of American soldiers and civilians who gave the people gifts of cigarettes, food (especially meat), and liquor.[40] The favorable stereotype constructed of Americans may therefore be explained in terms of the significance of their generosity to the Indians. Unfortunately the Canadian soldiers, who subsequently appeared in the area and served for lower pay, have not met the expectations of generosity to which the Kaska had become accustomed. The Indians were already familiar with the traders' lack of generosity, which is founded on a sense of good business. The unfavorable stereotype developed of Canadian soldiers, therefore, represents partly a generalization of experience from Canadian traders to Canadians and is also the product of frustrated expectations.

Closely related to food as a symbol of love is the high value placed on generosity. The language of generosity may be interpreted as: "You are a good person because you give." A demand to receive, founded on passive receptive aims, is implicit in this unconscious definition. It might appear that the demanding dependence of the Kaska, especially as it is expressed toward food, should make a stingy people. Actually we find the Kaska no more stingy than they are spontaneously generous.[41] However, the sharing of grub (not meat)

[39] See Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neuroses* (1945), 63.

[40] During the Second World War, peoples in many parts of the globe had occasion to benefit from the well paid American soldier's generosity and probably often responded to it with much the same manifest pleasure as the Kaska. It remains to be learned if the unconscious significance of gifts was the same in all of these cases.

[41] For examples of compulsive generosity see the discussion of Harry's personality below, pp. 336–337.

We may point out here that while Kaska society lacks any ritualistic forms of bestowing authority, aboriginally the leaders of a band held people together by their roles as food providers. The early traders recognized some-

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

practicality of the Kaska adult. From this we also learn more about how the empirical reality system gets its start in childhood. Among the Kaska, empiricism is related to good infant care, an oedipal pattern which stresses independent learning, discouragement from playing with impractical toys, encouragement of independence and self-sufficiency as defenses against emotional isolation, and the impossibility of overtly indulging passive dependent attitudes in parents.

The oedipal pattern we have described can certainly not lead to the projection of a strong authoritarian deity, and indeed the Kaska have refurbished the creation myth partially taken over from the Bible. Jesus (or God) is several times puzzled by his problems and there is no idea of God as omnipotent. The lasting idea of people as fallible and limited in their resources is another effect of the oedipal pattern and goes to reinforce the egocentric dictum: "I must do this by myself."

The influences of early parental attitudes, in association with moderate ego tonicity, on other aspects of flexibility are not hard to discern. With few rewards for the fulfillment of obligations, children are not required to learn the meaning of futurity. Compulsive qualities like duty and perfectionism are not demanded of the child nor are they available in his social environment for imitation. Similarly such compulsive ways of behaving are not acquired by the child while undergoing toilet training, where the stress on the child's preparedness and conformity are relatively mild. Few rules or formalized methods of procedure are given the child to follow. He sees no emphasis on planning and his moderate ego strength does not lead him to attempt to develop such notions. As a result, the adult is marked by a flexible approach to life which is largely used for passive purposes, to remove him from critical situations which threaten his ego resources.[93]

Identifications. Important stimulation is given to the dominant motivations by the identifications which the child creates in the oedipal situation. One expression of the effects of these identifications occurs in the conscious and unconscious attitudes characterizing adult interpersonal relations. There is no doubt that in the very early oedipal situation, before the institution of maternal emotional rejection, the mother is the most important figure in the child's life. Largely this importance is due to the mother's gratificatory role, but it also follows from the fact that the father's economic routines frequently separate him from his family. In later childhood the mother remains a powerful and significant figure but the father now becomes an equally important personage and one who suggests himself as a target for identification by children of both sexes. It must be pointed out, however, that identification with a father, or adequate father substitute, is often difficult when families are broken and children are raised by the mother or a mother surrogate like the mother's sister or the child's grandmother. Such broken families are quite common among the Kaska. The structure of the family too has an important bearing on what identifications can be

[93] Among the South African Lobvedu, the absence of stern parental authority also appears to be correlated with a lack of compulsiveness and tolerance for personal variation. In this society, too, we find that sphincter control is not expected before three years of age. Nevertheless there is evidence that Lobvedu spontaneity is something different from Kaska flexibility, being related to a feeling for moderation and a distaste for striving. Among the Kaska flexibility is essentially a passive reaction *from* striving. See Krige and Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* (1943), 290–292.

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159 we turned back and took the right trail. When night came we camped. The next day we reached Old Lang's camp around noon. Old Lang had gone to Lower Post and his wife gave us meat to eat. Grandma didn't feel like eating. She told her sister: "If I eat that meat I'm going to die." Mrs. Lang asked her why. She said: "I know the flying squirrel ate that meat." Mrs. Lang said: "No, you're lying." Finally grandma ate the meat. The next day grandma became sick and Uncle Tom took me over to his camp. He kept me for about three days. Meantime my grandmother died. When he took me home I saw grandma way back in the brush on a tree. I wondered when she was going to get up again and fix the bed for me. Aunt Mildred was crying but I didn't know why. Finally my aunt fixed the bed and we went to sleep. Two days later Old Lang came home. When he heard what had happened he became angry with his wife. "Tell me why you played that dirty trick on her?" he demanded. Then the old man went to cut lumber to build a coffin for the old lady. I don't know where they buried her, but they took her down the river a way. When they came back home we all pulled out. From that time on Aunt Mildred kept me. She kept me well.

[224H I remember one time when my aunt and I were setting marten deadfalls. I asked her why she was setting up all those funny looking sticks and logs. I didn't know about traps. My aunt told me: "I'm going to catch marten and buy some candy and clothes for you." It made me happy when she said that. After about a week we went out to look at the traps. There were no marten; the animals had taken the bait from the rear end of the traps. Aunt Mildred never set those traps again. We just traveled, going anyplace. That was a hard winter. Sometimes we had nothing to eat. It was hard to get moose. Once we camped with Piel who had killed a small beaver. It was the first time I tasted that kind of meat. At the next camp we made, I saw people chop the ice in order to set a beaver trap. I wondered what they were chopping the ice for. I didn't know what the trap was for either and wondered what they were going to do with that thing. While waiting for them to set the trap I got cold feet and so went home. When the people came back to look at the trap they didn't find any beaver.

We went down to the hot spring, where Old Tom Smith and Fred Allen were living. Tom Lang and Peter Lang started down to visit those white men with my aunt's dog. Old Tom Smith had put poison on the trail and our dog ate it. Now we had no dog. Madeline's brother had her two dogs, so they hauled our clothes, blankets, and grub. When spring came we went to Tobally Lakes. It was my first trip to that place. The people shot many swan there. The women cut the feet off and made little bags out of the skin. Leaving Tobally Lakes we went toward Lower Post and came to Lake Atsaste. Madeline's brother came to [762] that place. When the people found him he was crazy. His old grandmother hollered at him and he began to cry. When he cried he took a piece of flint and gashed himself on the leg—all the way up. He cut his fingers too. He did these things because he wanted to die. Leaving that lake we came to Coal River. After we crossed, we went twenty miles or so up the [177] river where we met some Mackenzie Indians—Tsatena. They lived on fish and moose up there. Uncle Tom took me with him to show me how to fish. One Tsatena gave me a big bunch of suckers. First I thought he wanted me to take them home for him, so when we got close to camp I gave them back. He told me: "You eat them." When I came home Aunt Mildred told me: "You stole those fish." I told her: "No, somebody gave them to me."

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101 Both tribes live
[224] chiefly by hunting and trapping, but the Kaska depend more on the
136 chase than do the Tahltan. Large game-animals are abundant, consisting of moose, caribou, sheep, goat, and bear. Marmots are plentiful in certain parts, and buffalo are said to have been fairly numerous at one time in the more eastern sections of the country.

101 The Kaska are entirely surrounded by Athapascan tribes, while the Tahltan are neighbors of tribes of two other stocks; viz., the Tlingit to the northwest and west, and the Niska and Kitksan tribes of the Tsimshian stock to the southwest. To the south the Sikani, Carrier, and Chilcotin tribes of the Athapascan stock separate the Tahltan and Kaska from the Shuswap and Lillooet, the nearest tribes of the
439 interior Salish. Owing largely to their position, the Tahltan had a great deal of intercourse with the Tlingit, much more than with any
487 other people. Intercourse and trading were chiefly by way of Stikine River. Trade was in the hands of the Tlingit of Wrangell and vicinity, who annually transported goods by canoe up the river to the head of canoe navigation, a little above Telegraph Creek and close to the headquarters of the Tahltan. The people of the latter tribe acted as middlemen in passing coast products inland, and inland products coastward. The main trade-route between the far east (the Mackenzie valley and the plains) and the Pacific coast in this part of British Columbia lay through the Tahltan and Kaska territory, and there is evidence of a number of cultural features having penetrated a long distance in both directions along that route. Here, as in other parts of the west, the main trade-routes lay as nearly east and west as the physical features of the country allowed; while other routes running north and south within the interior were unimportant, notwithstanding the fact that the nature of the country generally was favorable for travel and intercourse.

487 It may be expected that dissemination of tales has occurred chiefly
● 177 along the main trade-routes, where intercourse between the tribes was
x 171 most frequent and closest. Hence throughout the interior, dissemina-
773 tion of tales has followed east and west lines rather than north and south. As the same conditions as to routes prevailed in the southern interior as in the northern, it seems probable that a number of the incidents in tales of the Tahltan and Kaska which correspond with those in tales of the interior Salish have not passed directly from Athapascan to Salish tribes, or *vice versâ*, but have reached both from the same eastern and western sources,—chiefly, it seems, the latter.

177 The Tahltan assert that in the old trading-rendezvous on the upper
x 171 Stikine, members of the two tribes associated there for weeks together,
773 and that one of the features of meeting was story-telling. Tahltan *raconteurs* told their stories one day, and Tlingit told theirs the following day. Sometimes they thus told stories turn about for

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weeks. Occasionally the tribes competed in story-telling to see which had the most stories. As a result, it came to be acknowledged that the Tlingit had considerably more stories than the Tahltan. In this way, it is said, the Tahltan learned Tlingit stories, and *vice versâ*.

It is therefore not surprising to find many elements of Tlingit origin in Tahltan tales. It seems that most stories of the Raven cycle, and many other tales, have been borrowed almost in their entirety. On the other hand, the Kaska tales show much less indication of Tlingit influence, and probably a little more of influence from the east. On the whole, they are probably more purely Athapascan. The importance of the chase (especially hunting of caribou) is reflected in the tales of both tribes. Fishing is not prominent, excepting in tales borrowed from the Tlingit. Root-digging and berrying, features often referred to in Salish tales, are almost entirely absent. Tales of European origin appear to be altogether unknown. I inquired for such tales as those of Petit Jean, John the Bear, and others, but without result. About one hundred and fifty themes, episodes, and incidents occurring in tales of the interior Salish (chiefly Shuswap), regarding which I made inquiry, I failed to obtain among the Tahltan, and there are also many others that are absent.

All the Tahltan tales, with the exception of six, were collected during the course of my work among the tribe in 1912. Almost all of them were obtained from Tuu'ts ("strong rocks"), also known as "Dandy Jim," of the Nahlin clan of the Raven phratry of the Tahltan. He was selected by the tribe as the best-qualified person to give me information on their general ethnology, mythology, and so on. The other six tales were obtained at Telegraph Creek in 1915 from Jim and others. The Kaska tales were collected at the foot of Dease Lake in 1915, my informants being Tsonake'l, also known as Albert Dease, and his wife Nettie Mejade'sse, both members of the Kaska tribe. In every case I collected all the tales my informants knew.

Historic traditions, such as tales of war-expeditions and migrations, are not included in the present collection. I have included a number of variants of incidents in the text. I have added some explanatory notes where these seemed to be required. The comparative notes, excepting those referring to the interior Salish, Chilcotin, and some of the Tsetsa'ut notes, were added by the Editor of the Journal.

1. STORY OF BEAVER.

A long time ago, when all the animals were people, Beaver was a great transformer. He travelled along a wide trail that was much used. Along the trail were many monsters that preyed on people. He came to a place where people always disappeared. Wolverene killed them. His house was at the foot of a glacier, between two

291 294 A third type of moccasin common among the Tahltan is also of three pieces. I will call it Type C or the 'seam over toe' style. It differs from Type B only in having a straight instead of a T-shaped toe seam. This seam extends down the front of the foot from the tongue to and over the toe ending underneath the latter. Sometimes the end of the seam is slightly puckered and sometimes not. There is a little variation in the exact position of the ending of this seam, some ending nearer the end of the toe and others further back, more under the foot. In all, however, the end of the seam is decidedly under the foot. This style of moccasin is the same as Hatt's series No. VI. (See National Museum specimens Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

171 291 294 A very similar moccasin referable to the same type is used by tribes further south (viz. Shuswap, Niłak, Okanagan, etc.,) but with them the front or toe seam ends invariably at the point of the toe and never under the latter, and there is hardly ever the slightest puckering of the seam where it terminates.

291 294 The fourth type of moccasin is much less common than the others. I will call it Type D or the 'tongueless' or 'duffle' kind. This is a one piece moccasin and would probably fall in Hatt's moccasin series II. It has generally a shaped heel seam and a straight toe seam ending at the point of or under the toe. There is no tongue or instep piece. Sometimes uppers are added which would put it /in/ the two piece class. (See National Museum specimens No. 9 and 10). This moccasin, if not made in the low slipper style, is laced generally after the style of shoes of the Whites, the lacing passing through holes or eyes on each side of the opening which extends from the ankle to the lower part of the instep, This type of moccasin does not occur among tribes in Southern British Columbia. Among the Tahltan it has only come into vogue during the last eight years, or so and has been copied from the blanket and sheepskin duffles or extra socks used inside of moccasins in cold weather by the Whites in the North (Northern B.C. and Yukon, etc.)

[171] [177]

Referring to types of moccasins A, B, and C, it may well be to note that all my informants agree that the 'round-toed' Type A was the only kind used by the Tahltan long ago and in fact until within comparatively recent times. It was also the only kind used at one time by the Taku Tagish, and all the neighboring Kaska. They also claim that it was at one time the principal and perhaps only type used by the Tlingit everywhere. It was also used by the neighboring Niska and Kitikshan but whether

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/it was/ the only kind used by them is unknown to the Tahltan. Mr. Hatt has spoken of the wide distribution of this type of moccasin in the North, where it appears to extend across the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic and also occurs among certain peoples of the old world (Hatt pp 171-175, 210, etc.) 291 294 [171]

/In regard to/ the square cut toe, Type B, all informants agree that this type is modern and not essentially Tahltan, as stated by Emmons (Emmons p. 43). They aver that Emmons may have misinterpreted information given him as to the relative frequency of this style of moccasin, which at the present day is probably more common among the Tahltan than the Kaska. The Tahltan say this type of moccasin was first seen among the Kaska and later adopted by the Tahltan, but it was not original with the Kaska. The Tahltan name for it is nê dō`kê which is derived from nê dō, a nickname given by them to a White man who traded for 'fine stuff' with the Kaska in the Dease River country. This man wore this kind of moccasin. He was one of the early fur traders who came into the country from the east. This places the introduction of this moccasin easily within historic times or since the coming of the Whites or fur traders (viz., not earlier than 1834 and probably some time after 1840). 177● 291 294

Regarding the seam over toe Type C, all agree that this kind of moccasin was introduced a little later (a few years only) than Type B. This kind of moccasin also appeared first among the Kaska and was later adopted by the Tahltan. Thus both types B and C came in closely following each other in early fur trading days, and both came in from the east, having been adopted by the Kaska before the Tahltan.

'Slipper' moccasins are much used by the Tahltan in the camps and houses in much the same way as slippers among the Whites. They are just like other moccasins excepting that the top or ankle piece is lacking, thus putting them in a two piece class. They have no lacing. Some of them have a loop at the top of the heel for helping in pulling them on. In structure most of them belong to Types B and C, especially the latter. It seems probable these low slipper moccasins were not used long ago. (See National Museum specimens No. 8, 9, 5 and 4). All moccasins were sewed with sinew thread. There was no difference between the styles of moccasins used by men and women. In hunting and travelling moccasins with uppers or ankle pieces were always used. 291 294

Some moccasins made of thin skin had an extra

or less rounded or even occasionally somewhat triangular in shape. 291 294

Some slipper moccasins were provided with loops of thong or braid at the back of the ankle to pull them on with. The uppers of many moccasins were cut to project in front so as to better cover and fold over the front of the ankle/and thus cover it better./ (See Hatt, Fig. 24).

Boots

Long boots of caribou leather were very common long ago and continued to be much used until some time after the coming of the first fur traders. They were the same as a long legging combined with a moccasin of Type A. Forms of feet like moccasin Types B and C were never used for boots. The legs of boots stretched up to the thighs and they were square cut at the tops. They were held up by strings which fastened to a separate belt around the waist and were generally further kept in place by garters just below the knees. It seems in most cases the strings for tying the boot tops to the belt were attached to the front part of the boot tops and not to the sides. (See Hatt, Fig. 72 and Nat. Mus. specimens No. 11, 12, 13). These boots are now never used.

Socks

It seems the only kind of socks used were in the winter time. These consisted of soft thin pieces of skins dressed in the hair, just large enough in size to wrap around the foot. The fur side was generally put next the foot. The most common skin used was that of the marmot. Otherwise, dry soft grass shredded fine or caribou hair well teazed were used inside moccasins instead of socks. No socks of woven materials were used. At the present day woolen socks and blanket duffles are chiefly used. These are nearly all obtained from the stores. A few socks and stockings are of native make. 291 [177]

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Leggings

Leggings were of caribou leather and square-cut both at the tops and bottoms. It seems none of them were cut to fit the thigh and extend up the outside of the hip. They reached from the ankle to the thigh and were fastened with strings to a belt in the same way as boots. Generally they were also held in position by garters. When traveling in snow they were further confined by the moccasin strings at the bottoms or had the moccasin tops folded over them and fastened. It seems, however, that boots were preferred to leggings by many people in the winter time. They were made to fit the length and thickness of the leg but were rather loose than tight fitting. None of them were shaped to fit the contour of the leg or to be glove like. (No. 14).* In later days, blanket leggings partially took the place of those made of skin and a few are still used by women in the winter time. (No. 15).* Some of these came only a little above the knee being held in place by garters. Skin and other leggings are now seldom used, not even over trousers. Women often use men's pants under their skirts when traveling in snow.

Breech-clouts

It is said these were used only by men, and more especially in the winter time. They were made of soft skins dressed in the hair and worn fur side next the body in cold weather. Skins of marmots and rabbits were chiefly used. They had strings attached to them for fastening around the waist or to the belt. Some had belts sewed to one end, and strings from the corners of the other end to tie the belt. The belts of others passed through a piece of leather sewed down over the edge of the skin at one end leaving sufficient room for the belt to be drawn through. Others again had short strings from all four corners for fastening the clout to the belts. Breech-clouts went entirely out of vogue with the introduction of trousers. None of them had long ends which hung down as aprons in front or at the back, and none consisted of long strips which merely passed under and over the belt and were not fastened in any way. (See No. 16, 17). *

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* Nos 14, 15, 16, 17, refer to National Museum specimens.

Pants

No pants or trousers were used long ago. They commenced to come into use very shortly after the arrival of the first fur traders (possibly some time ca. 1835 to 1845). It seems before this time trousers had not been seen. The first made by the Tahltan were combination, leggings and breech-clouts varying somewhat in construction. Soon afterwards other styles a little more like pants were made. These were altogether of leather and like a combination of leggings up to about the waist, the tops of the leggings being enlarged and sewed together at the front and back so as to envelop the hips and posterior. They were held up by strings tied to the belt and sometimes by other means. Some of them were combination boots and trousers. Only a few of these garments were used. These leather trousers probably resemble the Nahane trousers figured by Hatt (see Hatt, Fig. 73). Soon afterwards, however, the Tahltan commenced to make better copies of the white man's trousers. These were made of caribou leather and more patterned in every way after the old style pants used by the fur traders and sailors, which opened with a flap in front. These trousers became quite common. Commencing with the Cassiar gold rush in 1894 and the consequent establishment of numerous trading stores, leather pants soon went out of vogue and are seldom used now.

291 294 [177] [177]

Garters

Garters were universally used by men and women. Most of them consisted of plain strings and narrow bands of leather which were tied over the leggings or boot legs below the knee. Some were fastened permanently to the leggings, the ends being loose. Garters were often ornamented with bead or quill embroidery excepting at the ends where they tied. In later years some garters were fastened with buttons at the sides of the legs. Some other garters, often also fastened to the leggings, were of strings of leather twisted together. A number of them fastened to leggings had down of birds caught in the twining. Some of these garters were more for ornament than for utility.

291 301

Shirts

291
294 Shirts were of caribou and moose leather, generally the former. Some were also made of marmot and other strong skins. These were worn fur side out. In structure men's shirts were the same as women's dresses, only they were shorter and had no pleats below the breast opening. All shirts reached half way between the thigh and knee, and all appear to have been square cut at the bottom. All had full length sleeves sewed to the body and all were slit a short distance down the chest, the opening being tied with strings. They also tied with strings at the wrists. None of them opened on the shoulders. Most of them had low vertical collars and low cuffs. None of them had hoods. Shirts were worn with and without belts over them. (No. 18).* It is claimed that low collars, low cuffs and openings in front are all old and have not been copied from the whites. It is said that very long ago shirts were not very much used, but in later times they became quite common and were used by most men. Later still, after the arrival of the first fur traders they became practically universal. Some skin shirts are still used but nowadays they are cut after the fashion of white men's shirts, viz., are cut to shape from patterns, have deep cuffs, lying down collar, button down the breast and some have pockets. It seems no shirts with hoods were used by men.

[177]

Boys' shirts were like men's shirts but their lengths varied more and they had less ornamentation.

Winter shirts used by young children of both sexes were made of marmot, from ground squirrel and other skins. They had attached hoods, and the ends of the sleeves were closed or sewed together, thus covering the hands as well as the arms and doing away with the necessity for mittens. These shirts opened in front, where they were tied with strings, and some overlapped on the chest when closed or tied. They varied somewhat in length. Generally they were worn fur side out. (No. 19).*

* Nos 18 and 19 refer to National Museum specimens.

Dresses or Gowns

Women wore dresses or gowns of caribou leather, much resembling men's shirts, but very much longer and of more ample width, especially in the lower or skirt part. The shortest ones reached half way between the

291 294 belts attached or sewed to them at the back. The ends were brought around the waist and fastened with tie strings in front. Many had a couple of long strings inserted in the seam at each side of the dress at the waist. These were intended to tie around the belt if desired and keep it from sagging at the sides. Dresses worn by nursing mothers had the slit in front considerably longer than in dresses worn by other women. This was to facilitate the suckling of their babies. In many cases at least the entire dress with all accessories such as fringes etc. were made of two skins.

Coats etc.

177 291 No coats, overcoats or vests were used until after the coming of the whites. No separate cuffs or half sleeves were used as among some tribes. Armlets are used by some of the young men nowadays but they are nearly all of white manufacture. A very few are made of bands of leather ornamented with quill work in the same way as garters. A few coats are made of caribou leather. Some of these resemble somewhat the old style shirts, whilst others are fashioned more like White men's coats.

Belts

291 294 Belts consisted of bands of leather about two or three inches wide and sufficiently thick to preclude much stretching. Caribou skin was chiefly used. Only a few were of other kinds of skin. Many belts were used separately and many were attached to the clothing, as particularly in women's dresses and to a less extent on men's shirts, breech-clouts etc. Some belts consisted of twisted goat's wool.

Mitts etc.

[177] No gloves were used until after the coming of the whites. Mitts were made of leather and also of skins of marmot, caribou and beaver dressed in the hair.

Some other furs were also sometimes used. Mitts nowadays are cut after styles of mittens made by the Whites. Formerly they were made very much after the style of the moccasins of the 'round toed' kind. A piece of skin larger than the length and width of the hand was bent over the ends of the fingers and sides of the hand and sewed with puckering to an insert piece (resembling the tongue in moccasins) which covered the palm and interior part of the front of the hand. The thumb formed a separate piece sewed to the body of the mitt. Mitts varied in length, some coming up the arm a short distance. To the upper edges of the mitts were sewed the ends of the carrying strap, the bight of which encircled the neck, allowing the mitts to hang down from the front of the shoulders. (For modern mitts see National Museum specimens Nos 20, 21, 22. For old style mitts No. 23). Carrying straps consisted of strips of caribou leather flat or in ribbon form or sometimes twisted as cord. Some were of twisted cord of goat's wool. At the present day many consist of colored yarn. 291 294 [177]

Leather gloves of their own manufacture are used by everybody. In the winter large mitts take their place; these are also all of their own make. A few woolen gloves and mitts procured from the stores are in occasional use.

Neck-wraps

In very cold weather neck-wraps of fur were often used by both sexes, consisting of entire skins of foxes and other fur bearing animals of similar or smaller size. These were simply wrapped around the neck as tightly as convenient and the heads and tails tied together. Handkerchiefs and woolen neck-wraps procured from the Whites are now used extensively. [177]

Caps, etc.

Caps were made of fur, hair side out. They consisted of a wide band to fit the circumference of the head, the ends of which were sewed together. To this was sewed a circular piece to form the crown. The skins used were chosen for lightness and warmth, fox and marten being the most common. Beaver was also used,

is cut generally one to two and a half inches from it so as to form a fringe or flap surrounding the foot and reaching the tongue on each side. When of leather, the edge of the flap is generally pinked or cut in a very short tooth-like fringe or in a series of square notches made by cutting out each alternate piece of the fringe between cuts (see flap on Yellow-knife moccasin, Hatt Fig. 18). When of cloth, the edge of the cloth is often bound with braid or ribbon. Occasionally the flap is of leather and covered with cloth. Usually leather flaps are narrower than cloth ones and have no ornamentation other than the pinking. Cloth flaps, are usually wider and are often ornamented with bead embroidery, either only as an edging or as an edging combined with open designs covering more or less the entire flap. I have not seen or heard of quill work occurring on these flaps, and it seems silk work is also rare. Most flaps are left loose and hang down as a kind of fringe concealing to some extent the laces at the sides of the moccasins. Others have their lower edge stitched down to the foot of the moccasin. In this case there are no side loops on the moccasins, or in other cases they exist but are not used. All informants agree that piping cut close is old, and most of them think the rather narrow pinked flaps of leather on moccasins is old. On the other hand they consider that wide flaps which are embroidered are comparatively modern and likely came in with the traders. They do not seem to think that the cloth flap is an adaptation from the leather flap which has come in with the advent of cloth and beads. However this may be, these flaps, both of leather and cloth, are particularly common on moccasins of a number of Athabaskan tribes and the Tlingit. It may be remarked that slipper moccasins, which lack uppers, are nearly all provided with flaps of considerable width. As a rule these are stitched down on the moccasin, but some are loose, excepting their upper edge where they are generally enclosed in a binding of colored braid or colored ribbon procured from the stores. Sometimes fur and rarely bird skin are used instead. Leather flaps on slipper moccasins are rare, nearly all flaps being made of red, blue, and black cloth. Sometimes the edge of the cloth is cut in wavy lines with or without pinking, and occasionally two or more layers of cloth of different colors are laid one on the other and the edges of some or all are pinked. 291 294 531 [177]

Rarely the uppers of moccasins are pinked around the edges but they are never ornamented in any other way. Moccasins were not set with cut fringes like those of leggings etc. and it seems appliqué work was never used. A very few moccasins had wrapped quill

291 these being retained for ornament and worn at the side
294 or back. Men's caps were occasionally ornamented with
531 small bunches of feathers sewed to the front or to one or both sides. A few headbands were also thus ornamented. A great variety of caps ornamented with ribbons, colored cloth, pearl buttons, shells, feathers, beads, teeth, etc., are in use but they belong to the ceremonial dress.

Robes

Robes were ornamented in various ways. Sewed rabbit skin robes often had the skins arranged according to color in various ways so as to give a striped or other effect. Sometimes the white skins were grouped in one area, the darkest ones in another and the medium or half changed skins in another (this if the blanket was made chiefly of fall skins). This method was also employed to some extent in other fur robes. In robes made of skins of small animals the tails (and occasionally the head, feet and ears) were often left on for ornament. The strips of leather forming edges to many robes were frequently ornamented with more or less quill embroidery in stripes and also rarely with red paint applied in stripes. The insides of robes often had all the seams or joinings of the skins painted red. No robes were painted with pictographs or designs as among the plateau tribes.

Ornamentation of robes with pendants, claws, teeth, shells, etc., appears to have been on ceremonial pieces only. Some robes had fringes of the same material or skin which composed the robe. These fringes were short and never cut very fine.

Designs

It seems there were no designs either in quill or bead embroidery pertaining particularly to clothing. The quill designs were all geometric and generally arranged in lines or narrow strips. Bead designs are [17] chiefly floral and many appear to have been adopted from the Tlingit. As stated already, clothing was very rarely painted excepting sometimes along seams. Rarely some people made a few fanciful designs in clothing in red and black. These had no meanings or at least had nothing to [292] do with dreams. Only shamans occasionally painted marks or designs on clothing which had connection with dreams or manitou.

292 294 its introduction. The sharp-nosed type is said to have been adopted from the Kaska and after its introduction became for a time the common shoe of the Tahltan. Later it was superceded by the shovel-nosed [177] type adopted from the Tagish and upper Taku Indians and this kind is now almost the only shoe used by the tribe.

4) Two other kinds of snowshoes are mentioned by the Tahltan as having been in use formerly. One of these called the "duck's breast-bone nose," seems to have resembled the "shovel nose" -- somewhat in the form of the toe, but the latter was wider and less curved inwards. I did not receive [170] further information on this type of shoe except that it was also used by the Tagish formerly.

5) The other kind of snowshoe called "round or oval nose" had a frame of two sticks which were thinned and joined together with a strong lashing at the toe. The latter was wider and more rounded than the present round-toed shoe of the Kaska, which has a very narrow point. It had only one cross bar forward of the foot and two in all. It seems to have resembled the flat shoe No. 2 in every way except that the "nose" was turned up and possibly a little narrower. and the frame was always of two pieces. This shoe [171] therefore seems to correspond to the ait-za or ordinary snowshoe of the Carrier. (See Morice p. 153). It seems to be almost if not quite obsolete nowaday - but it is said to have been at one time very common among both the Tahltan and Kaska. Snowshoes of the bear foot type (See Morice p. 154, Fig. 143), according to my informants, were never used by the Tahltan even in remote times.

[53] 292 Some snowshoes especially those of women are ornamented with short tufts of colored yarn at intervals along the outside of the frame and on the "nose." It seems this is comparatively modern. (See National Museum specimen No. 37.)

292 284 The tie strings or straps of snowshoes were of thongs or strips of leather. It seems sometimes two strings were used and sometimes a single piece. The latter is said to be the oldest. The methods of adjusting and tying these straps to the snowshoe and to the foot varied in different tribes. Some informants claimed a tie exactly similar to that used by the Carrier (as shown by Morice, Fig. 141) was in use. I noticed two methods of adjusting the strings

231 Salish. Any kind of stout line of leather or rawhide was used. To give greater strength some of these were plaited. No bone toggles were used on the lines, which were simply tied. Dogs were fed on meat and fish and ate all kinds of scraps and refuse around the camp. When their owners had an abundance of food they got plenty to eat and when food was scarce they necessarily received very little. The Tahltan aver that their old breed of dogs could not live at the coast. Many times Tlingit trading parties took dogs home with them, but in all cases these dogs lived but a short time or became very unhealthy. They developed pulmonary troubles and soon died or became mangy. Whites who have taken away to different parts of the coast specimens of the small Tahltan "bear dog" say that in all cases these dogs soon became sick and died.

[224] 492 The Tahltan claim that formerly dogs were used by them for hunting only, and it is only about fifty years ago since they first commenced to pack and haul with dogs.

• [177] In fact it seems packing and driving came in about the time of the Cassiar gold rush in 1874, and for this reason, the introduction of these processes is generally credited to the whites. Some Indians aver that a little packing had been done a few years previous to this time. However this may be, packing [493] and driving generally came in about this date. Wooden sleds and dog harnesses of the common kinds used by Whites in the North are those in use, and the methods of driving appear to differ in no ways from those generally prevailing in the North.

492 415 In packing dogs' pack-bags are used. Some of those formerly in use were made of leather, but at the present day all are made of different kinds of canvas or tent material. In shape they are like saddle-bags used on horses. Most of them are of a single strip of canvas of the proper length and width, the middle part of which is intended to rest on the dog's back. The ends are doubled up outwards and sewed to the body so as to form a bag on each side of the dog, a sufficient loose end being left on each side to stretch over and cover the mouth of the bags. Sometimes one loose end is longer than the other, the shorter one simply covering the mouth of the bag of which it is an extension whilst the other reaches over the back of the dog and covers both. Sometimes both are of equal length, one loose end being tucked

under the other across the back of the dog, either end being available as top cover. Material to be packed is placed in the bags, it being necessary to have the contents of each about equal in weight. The covers of the bags are fastened down with a lacing of thongs passed through a series of loops of the same material in the upper sides of the bags, the lacing passing from one bag to the other across the lids /sic/ and the back of the dog. The bags are kept in place by a single slash rope of leather or canvas about ten or twelve feet long which is first passed around the ends of the bags below the sides of the dog and then around the bags underneath the dog and back over the top to the point of commencement. There are several slightly different methods of fastening the bags. (For specimen of the common dog pack-bag of the Tahltan see National Museum specimen No. 39).

Dogs pack weights of twenty to fifty pounds according to their size or strength. Families have two or three to six or more dogs. The difficulty of feeding them at certain seasons almost alone limits their number. Large active dogs good for both packing and driving and well enough haired to withstand severe cold are in demand and some dogs exchange for as high as $40.00 or even more.

Horses

The Tahltans saw the first horses about 1875, when pack trains of horses and mules arrived overland from the southern interior of British Columbia to pack during the gold mining excitement. The packers with these trains were Whites of various nationalities, Mexicans and Indians from the Shuswap and Lillooet tribes and from Thompson River. Accompanying the latter were two Shahaptin Indians, one a Yakima and one a Wallawalla. Most of these pack train hands soon returned, and after a time most help of this kind was supplied by young men of the Tahltan, who thus became acquainted with horse packing, and horse management, including shoeing of horses. With the diminishment of mining most of the pack trains had left by 1884. However, some horses were retained in the country for packing purposes by traders and others and there was again an increase of horses and packing during the Klondike excitement. Later packing of supplies for the Yukon Telegraph Line and development of big game hunting due to the annual arrival of wealthy whites, added to the packing done by traders

88 302 Her face was now painted red, instead of black, and it was thus painted plain red for the next four years (if she remained unmarried). Her hair was now worn straight down the back and many ornaments were attached to it. These hair ornaments, besides being ornamental, were believed by their weight to help the growth of the hair. A common hair ornament worn consisted of a long flap of leather increasing in width towards the bottom and entirely covered on the outside with quill work or fringes arranged with dentalia in alternating horizontal rows. The bottom edge was ornamented with pendants of various kinds. In later days glass beads were substituted for the quillwork, etc., and tufts of colored yarn for the bottom pendants. These hair ornaments or flaps were worn one on each side of the head, extending down over (or near) the ears. The largest and most elaborate of them were used by daughters of wealthy people (See National Museum Specimen No. 49.) , also illustration of a similar good one Emmons plate VIII D. Besides the side ornaments a somewhat similar back ornament was used. It was attached to the middle of the back hair and hung down from near the top of the head. It also was made of leather and richly embroidered with shells, quills or beads and further ornamented with fringes, tassels, and pendants. Generally two or more of the pendants consisted of oval-shaped stones

88 301 [77]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

PREFACE

MY first direct contact with Athapaskan Indians came in the summer of 1943 with the Slave Indians at Fort Nelson, B. C.[1] The original and unattained objective of that field trip had been the Kaska Indians, whom I then believed to be trading into a post located at the confluence of McDame Creek and Dease River, British Columbia, some 300 miles northwest of Fort Nelson. In June 1944 I succeeded in winning another opportunity to work with the Northern Athapaskans, again setting out for McDame Creek and the Kaska Indians. In Edmonton, district officials of the Hudson's Bay Company informed me that not many Indians were left at McDame Creek. Following the coming of the Alaska Highway, they explained, the McDame trade had been deflected to Lower Post, where the Dease and Liard rivers meet. Here the Dease River Kaska now came to spend the summer with other Kaska Indians who lived on the northern drainage of the Liard. The advice proved encouraging, since it meant that an 80-mile boat trip from Lower Post to McDame Creek could be avoided.

Contrary to the previous year, in 1944 I went North accompanied by my wife and two children: David, age three, and Karen, eight months. On June 15 we started from Dawson Creek, the end of rail, comfortably seated in a very up-to-date Greyhound Bus. The Northwest Division of the United States Army provided this facility for "essential" transportation over the Alaskan Highway. Many changes from the previous summer could be noted during the first lap of the journey. Not only had the Highway been vastly improved, but many of the army and construction camps were closed and some had already been demolished. The "town" of Mile Eight, eight miles above the spur road that leads eastward to Fort Nelson airport, now revealed only a few structures. (When we returned in September the locale appeared to be even more abandoned.) Twenty-three hours sufficed to cover the 620 miles to Lower Post. Early on a glorious summer morning the huge vehicle turned off the Highway and wheeled onto the dirt track leading to the front of the settlement, which then faced the sparkling Liard River.[2]

We spent 13 happy weeks in Lower Post, coming to know a few Kaska Indians so well that we were able to return in 1945 confident of being able to live with them in their winter settlements.[3]

The intention behind my initial visit to the Kaska in 1944 was to acquire gradually an intimate knowledge of their contemporary culture and personality by approaching them with questions about their aboriginal way of life. These data about pre-contact times form the subject matter of the present monograph. In the following year five additional months residence with the people, including part of a winter, helped elucidate many more aboriginal problems. On that field trip, however, contemporary Kaska life constituted the focus of study. The latter material has already been published in *Kaska*

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

[2] Recently published material suggests that the town has turned its face toward the Highway, a process which commenced in 1944 when a new Hudson's Bay Company store opened on the Highway and the old store, facing the river, was abandoned. Cf. Harrington, *Alaska Highway* (1951).

[3] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 3-4.

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Upper Liard

forward crosspiece, came up from below and bent across the 25–7 strand from above (27), bent across the forward crosspiece from above (3), then twisted three times around the 3–14 strand between the forward crosspiece and the 25–7 strand, and twisted around the 25–7 strand enroute to the left hand frame, where the line knotted at station 25 with a single overhand knot that included one part of the 25–7 strand.

Two types of harness, both made from smoked-skin line, secured the snowshoe to the moccasin-covered foot. One of these is said to have been introduced into the area from Fort Liard and is currently referred to as the "Nelson type" (Fig. 4, CENTER RIGHT). The other was in use among the Liard River and "Tlingit" (probably Taku) people (Fig. 4, LOWER RIGHT).

To avoid slipping on steep inclines four bone pins were sometimes inserted into holes provided at the bottom of each snowshoe. The pins projected about an inch from the wood. The snowshoe staff further aided walking in hilly country. It consisted of a stick about four feet long with a hoop that was laced with babiche line. The hoop was located a short distance from the lower end of the staff and consisted of a short length of willow bent and lashed in the form of a circle. The filling served to keep the hoop affixed to the staff. A man prepared wood for this implement while women customarily added the filling. No distinctive staff for the snowshoe staff could be learned, informants designating it merely as "walking stick." Morice, however, has translated the Carrier name for this implement as referring to the "circular attachment which prevents it [the staff] from sinking too much in the snow."[25] Men wore snow glasses when traveling across snow made bright by the spring sun. These implements consisted of strips of tanned skin or birch bark provided with eye slits. The area around the slits was blackened with charcoal to further reduce glare.

Land travel in summer or winter generally involved men walking in advance of the women, who remained in charge of children and household goods. This pattern left men free to intercept or follow game, reduced disturbance that might drive away game, and also enabled men to prepare sufficient wood for a comfortable camp before the women arrived. Sometimes women and children did not reach a camp until midnight. In autumn, enroute to the ground-hog trapping grounds in the mountains, a number of families moved together, the men scouting for moose and the women walking in old and well-defined trails. People crossed streams on rafts as well as on log bridges constructed by felling either one, two, or three thin trees or by shifting an already fallen tree into position to serve as a span. In traveling to a game kill, as well as in other types of cross country movement, Indians sometimes indicated their route by blazes. One type of blaze consisted of a willow or other branch broken in the specified direction. In an "open place" the route might be indicated by hanging moss in trees, while up in the barren mountain tundra, which composed a sizable part of the Kaska territory, successive rock piles served as guides. River valleys were commonly referred to in giving

[25] Morice, *Carrier Language* (1932), 62. Laptin describes a similar "snowshoe stick" in use among the Nunivak Eskimo. (Lantis, *Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* [1946], 167.) While informants among the Attawapiskat Cree Indians of James Bay denied the use of snowshoe pegs or the snowshoe staff the counterpart of the latter may have existed in "crutches" with a webbed lower end. These allowed lame persons to support themselves on snow. Honigmann, *Attawapiskat field notes* (1947–48).

3/1 [Erratum. Probably meant "name"—Analyst]

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verbal directions.[26] Separated groups of travelers who had need to communicate with each other did so by means of a limited repertory of smoke signals like these: One smoke, "we have killed game"; two smokes, "come over here"; three or four smokes, "we have had an accident (or trouble)."

Men and women packed goods but characteristically women carried the heavier loads. Only lines were utilized in packing, pack sticks being unknown. Pack lines consisted of four-ply braided babiche line. In supporting a back load the line passed along the outside of the arms below the shoulders and proceeded around the top of the head slightly in front of the vertex. If a heavy load caused pack lines to slip down the arms, a padding of moss was added. Men carried small game by tying one end of a packline around the head and the other around the rear legs of the animal. Fowl were transported in sacks of fine, netted babiche lined with babiche hide. Tanned skin bags up to three feet square held clothing and meat in transport. The colon of an animal, closed at one end by sewing, provided a handy container for small tools. Berries and meat were held for short periods in birch-bark baskets. Dogs rarely packed goods prior to European contact. In the spring a pack dog's feet could be protected from crusted snow by moose-skin dog shoes in which small holes allowed the claws to project. Horses remained unseen until 1898.

In the absence of bark-chair baby carriers a woman transported her infant in a moose-skin bag lined with deep moss, the baby facing away from the mother. The bag hung against the mother's back supported by tanned-skin line. In winter a layer of fur lined the moss bag and insulated the child from the bitter cold. Following infancy children rode pick-a-back fashion on the mother's back, supported with a baby strap that passed around the outside of the woman's arms and was tied under her chin. A shawl of animal pelts, tanned with the hair on, provided protection from low temperature.

Several early travelers have remarked on the casual use of water transportation in the early post-contact period. Thus McConnell reports that the Indians "are very inferior canoemen, and are afraid to venture on the river except in its smoothest places. They seldom ascend the river with canoes, as they prefer to carry their outfits along the shore to tracking a boat against a rapid current, and in descending use small spruce bark canoes which they build in a couple of hours and abandon without much loss.[27] Pike writes, "the Cascas and Liard Indians are poor boatmen, and do not make much use of the waterways, preferring to pack heavy loads through the woods to working a canoe upstream; while, if they wish to run down a river, they can make a bark or skin canoe in a few hours, and lose nothing by throwing it away at the end of the run. The birch on the Upper Liard does not grow to a sufficient size to supply bark suitable for canoes so much used on the lower part of the river."[28]

[26] Among the Chilkat Tlingit there were true cardinal directions that took their names from the winds. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 204.

[27] McConnell, *Report on an Exploration in the Yukon and Mackenzie Basins* (1890), 35D.

[28] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 81–82. Along the Pelly River this author "often noticed rafts tied upon the banks, evidently used by the Indians for crossing. . . . It is curious that they do not use canoes on such easily navigable streams, but prefer to pack a load on their backs and make a straight course for their hunting-grounds, crossing and recrossing the main stream to cut off a detour" (204).

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501 Despite their reported shyness of river travel the Upper Liard Indians recall manu-
505 facturing rafts, moose-skin boats, dugouts, and bark canoes. Five or more logs provided
396 sufficient material for the construction of a raft, the parts being lashed together with
the aid of two cross poles and spruce-root line. For dryness smaller poles were some
times laid above these crosspieces and at right angles to them, being secured to their
[372] foundation with spruce-root cordage. In the center of a traveling raft people packed
mud to provide a hearth suitable for a small fire. A raft pointed at the stern sometimes
served hunters in autumn for hunting fowl. These craft are said to have been faster
than the square raft.

501 In spring and summer the people traveled downriver in moose-skin boats that some-
505 times contained as many as ten moose hides. Smaller craft of this type, however, com-
prised only one or two skins. The larger skin boats accommodated up to 20 people
while the smaller vessels held one or two men going on a hunting expedition, a division
[177] corresponding to the two types of canoes to be described below. Teit suggests that
among the Tahltan moose-skin boats came to supplant bark vessels, perhaps after the
introduction of the gun, which facilitated hunting.[29] To construct such a boat women
396 sewed together the hides with sinew, each skin overlapping the next by about two inches.
The seams were sealed with moose grease. Spruce gum, our informant claimed, did not
adhere well to moose hide. Preparation of the framework for the vessel constituted man's
work and required first laying down a single spruce pole as a keel. The keel rested in
the center of the sewn sheet of hides, the upturned ends being inserted into the edges
of the tightly spanned skin in such a way as to arch the keel. A number of saplings
provided the ribs of the vessel and were secured to the keel with babiche lashing. They
also hooked into the edges of the hide. Completion of such a boat took no more than a
day if both sexes cooperated. After one or two uses the hides remained useful for other
purposes, but prolonged immersion in water caused them to rot. Teit advises that
"these hide canoes have to be kept beyond the reach of dogs, which, when hungry,
sometimes destroy them."[29] Propulsion of the skin boat was by paddling. The vessels
are recalled as having been both faster and safer than rafts, largely because half-sub-
merged driftwood did not threaten them the way it menaced the raft.

501 For relatively long distance travel, which required the simultaneous transportation
396 of household goods, people used dugouts which one informant (O) referred to as the
"Liard River Indian boat." The native term for the vessel meant "something floating."
[171] Relatively rare in the Northern Athapaskan area, the dugout is, of course, common
among the Pacific Coast Tlingit as well as on the Plateau. Its use among the Kaska
may be regarded as a trait allying these people to the two adjacent areas. Construction
of the craft among the Kaska closely approximated details of manufacture reported for
[177] the Tlingit. It may logically be suspected that the building of the dugout increased
following the introduction of metal tools. Teit writes, "canoes were used on the Stikine,
Taku, and some other streams and lakes. They were mostly dug-outs acquired from the
Tlingit, but on the upper streams were made by themselves from cottonwood-logs."[30]

[29] Teit, *Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia* (1906), 345.

[30] Teit, *Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia* (1906), 345. There is evidence that the dugout may be an old feature of circumpolar culture dating to Boreal times. (Spaulding, *Northeastern Archae-*

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Material for such a boat consisted of a 20-foot (?) cottonwood tree secured in the spring "when the sap is running." The interior of the hull was hollowed out with the aid of a stone knife, the sides being thinned to a thickness of about one and one-half inches. Pins of birch, strong enough to penetrate cottonwood, kept the hollowing out process from going too deeply. Water was then poured into the excavated trunk and heated with great pile of hot stones. Rocking the hull back and forth assured even soaking and softening. Meanwhile about two dozen alder braces were forcefully inserted to spread the sides further apart. A pair of sticks always crossed each other at right angles. As a further precaution to prevent the soft wood from splitting, the craftsmen securely lashed stern and bow with babiche line.[21] Midships, the width of a dugout averaged about three and a half or four feet. When the wood had been stretched to this width, the braces and babiche lashing came away. Manufacture of the boat occupied a week or ten days and, if cared for, the vessel might last for ten years. Water, however, warped the hull so that when the vessel was not in use it was carefully placed on a boat rack. In winter a bark cover kept off snow. When navigating in a dugout the people crouched on a board placed low in the hull. Four men sometimes paddled, women sitting amidships where they could also paddle. From six to ten people could be accommodated in such a vessel.

Despite the informant's appellation of the dugout as the "Liard River Indian boat" it is reasonable to expect that the simpler construction of the spruce bark canoe made this the more common means of water transportation. In 1905 Teit reported bark canoes to have already been displaced in the Cassiar but from descriptions obtained he concluded that they appeared "to have been similar in type to those still used on the Canadian Yukon, having high, narrow, projecting prows and sterns, flat bottoms, and the bark put on in longitudinal strips."[22] Made in the spring, when the bark peeled most readily, these craft ranged in size from about 15 feet (for a hunting and fishing canoe used by one or two men or women) to about 19 feet for a boat accommodating up to 10 travelers. The latter figures correspond closely to those given for the dugout and also with information secured by Osgood among the Ingalik.[23] The canoe was constructed around a mold consisting of half-dozen or so short sticks driven into the ground. The outer surface of the bark became the interior of the hull and each gunwale was sewn between two spruce saplings. Ribs, consisting of spruce saplings, snapped in place under the gunwales and did not have to be lashed into position. The bow and stern were sewn with spruce-root line and pitched with spruce gum. Construction of a good spruce-bark canoe occupied about one and a half days. If well cared for, that is, drawn out of the water or stored on a boat rack when not in use, such a boat lasted an

ology and General Trends in the Northern Forest Zone [1946], 151.) We have also heard that the Lapps used hollowed out logs as toboggans drawn by reindeer. (Personal communication from Knute Hillgren, Lower Post.)

[21] For an exact duplication of this technique of boat building among the Tlingit see Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1924), 79. Also Krause, *Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 170–173. Cottonwood dugouts were in use among the Chilkat. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 181.

[22] Teit, *Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia* (1906), 345.

[23] Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* (1940), 367, 372

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entire summer. A cruder type of spruce-bark vessel, containing a single-pole gunwale and fewer ribs, served to cross a river and might be manufactured in an hour or two. After serving its purpose it was discarded. Spruce craft remained undecorated. When employed for hunting beaver, the hulls might be blackened with charcoal in order to make the vessels resemble sticks of driftwood. The occupants of a bark canoe sat on piles of moss about ten inches thick, legs being tucked under the body and feet flaring out in a slight angle. When he wearied of this position a man stretched his legs out in front of him but he never sat with crossed legs. Upon sighting game the Indian pointed the craft in the direction of the animal before letting his arrow fly. Shooting from the boat at an acute angle to the hull threatened capsizing. Spruce canoes constituted fragile craft. The informant recalled one that broke under the weight of a moose. While any man might try his hand at making such a vessel, a certain amount of skill was prerequisite and occasionally able men made canoes in exchange for skins and arrows. Ownership of the boat rested in the man but women freely used the smaller variety for fishing.

As we have pointed out, the scarcity of white birch in the region of the upper Liard River prohibited the manufacture of birch-bark canoes. In 1842 Campbell had to send from Fort Halkett to Fort Liard for this material in order to construct canoes for exploring the Pelly River.[34] Decked canoes and sails likewise did not exist and only rarely did travelers fasten their canoes in pairs. Sometimes this practice occurred in smooth water, when two families moved camp together. In dangerous water the boats separated.

Men constructed paddles from spruce wood, the handle being shaped with a rounded knob at the upper end.[35] A hole drilled through this knob admitted the paddler's finger and gave him a firmer grip. Blades contained a center ridge from which the wood tapered to thin edges. For bailing voyagers employed a dipper carved from birch wood but minus any handle.[36] Bailers were sometimes decorated.

Indians forded rivers by swimming in cases where an exceptionally strong current prohibited the use of rafts. The swimmers clutched a floating pole as they paddled.[37] Women crossed simultaneously with men but a short distance further downstream. Everyone in the aboriginal community knew how to swim.

Dease River Kaska. Winter land transportation in the Dease River basin depended on skin and wood toboggans as well as on snowshoes. The sled remained unknown until introduced by Euro-Canadians. The skin stripped from the leg of a caribou made a useful vehicle in which to haul meat over loose snow. Wooden toboggans utilized spruce or birch wood and lacked the sharply upturned nose characteristic of the modern-style

[34] Campbell, *Discovery and Exploration of the Pelly (Yukon) River* (1883).

[35] Crutch-handle paddles were in general use on the Northwest Coast. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 182.

[36] Bailers consisting of a wooden scoop are widespread on the Pacific Coast while bark bailers are more characteristic of the Plateau. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 182; Ray, *Culture Element Distributions: XXII, Plateau* (1942), 158.

[37] Judging from Hornell's data, swimming floats have rarely been reported for North America. Hornell, *Water Transport* (1946), 3 ff.

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342 piled snow high all around the central space. The warmth of the fire caused the snow to freeze, a condition that insured better protection from wind. At other times people [492] dug into a snowbank to fashion an overnight shelter. Snow shovels were not widely used among the Liard River Indians, so that people moved snow with the aid of snow- [372] shoes. A snowhouse contained a fire, the smoke of which escaped through a hole in the roof.

349 In summer threat of an enemy attack led the people to excavate pits near the camp where young children could be secreted and covered with caribou hides (possibly camou- 342 flaged with earth?). Birch-bark, semisubterranean, and grass-mat houses remained unidentified by informants. Log cabins commenced to enjoy popularity after the intro- [177] duction of the steel ax following white contact. Skin-covered tipis are said to have been introduced by a Fort Liard family. It is interesting to note that while anthropological thinking might classify together the sod- and skin-covered conical lodge Indians tend to distinguish them sharply.

352 Appurtenances remained scarce in aboriginal dwellings. Spruce brush or grass provided floor covering, the grass first being softened by rubbing between the hands. 513 People especially favored grass for sleeping places. Raised platforms did not find a place in houses and stuffed pillows are also denied. Sleepers lay covered by robes of woven rabbit or ground-hog skins or blankets containing a number of beaver and marten pelts sewn together. Drifted snow and other debris were brushed away from dwellings with a willow broom.

343 Other than the cache, non-residential structures were represented only by the sudatory, which was built over ground that had been excavated to a depth of about 12 inches. Atop the excavated space, willow poles were bent and lashed together, following which a sheathing of tanned skins went over the framework. A hole for ventilation opened in the top of the dome. Sweat houses contained no entry, the user simply lifting the lower edge of the cover when he wished to enter or leave. Hot rocks dashed with water furnished steam as well as a heat so intense that the bather might be driven to lift a corner 349 of the cover to admit cool air. Ceremonial structures found no place in the Kaska settlement and even the brush enclosed dance or ceremonial plaza appears to have been lacking.[4]

372 The efficiency of any dwelling in winter depended closely on fire. Heat also constituted a prerequisite for many technological operations, ranging from cooking to snowshoe making. Two versions of a common myth explaining the origin of fire (or rather of pyrites) are given below.

372 One fellow [Bear?] had this rock and didn't want to give it to the Indians. He wanted to keep it. 539 Another fellow stole the stone and gave it to Fox Man who ran away. Tsuguya [a culture hero] secured the rock and made fire with it. Then he threw the rock all around, all over the country, so that everybody could have fire (X).

Crow and Wolf held a meeting. This took place before there were any people in the world. Crow had been in the habit of flying around and when any animal killed meat he would be on hand to take some

[4] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 89; Osgood, *Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin* (1936), 52, 122, 125.

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342 casionally reached a diameter of 30 feet and accomodated several families, smaller structures built in this style and housing only one or two families occurred more frequently. Birch-bark and grass-mat buildings were unknown. A Kechika River man appeared vaguely familiar with the snowhouse but would venture no description of its form or [462] construction. Women erected houses and were believed to construct better structures than men. Qualities governing selection of a dwelling site included "hard" (i.e., dry) ground and accessibility to water. Dry wood could be found nearly everyplace. People never excavated the ground of a house site.

592 Within a dwelling women occupied the area nearest the entry, while a husband had
513 his place toward the rear. Daughters slept near the mother, sons farther back from the entry. Infants rested in skin hammocks suspended over the mothers' sleeping places.
[354] Along the Kechika River, at least, babies used hammocks of plaited, split spruce roots lined with skins. Specially constructed fireplaces or sleeping platforms did not occur. People lived on a carpet of spruce brush and at night covered themselves with robes of sewn marten and ground-hog pelts or plaited rabbit-skin. Grizzly bear robes, because of their size and warmth, provided especially desirable blankets. Some people used pillows made by packing duck or partridge feathers in a smoked skin bag.

343 The sweat house, built for the use of both sexes, was the only type of non-residential
[349] structure. Hemispherical in shape and about four feet high it contained a roof opening designed to permit the escape of excess heat and steam. No ceremonial enclosures occurred.

372 Both sexes showed equal skill in kindling fire by the strike-a-light method.[7] One
177 informant denied the use of fire drills (S) but another man constructed a bow drill which, he claimed, had been displaced from the culture because of its poorer efficiency compared to the use of flint and pyrites (WT). Boys and girls commonly sought fuel with some assistance from adults. In winter when camp moved women carried fire on glowing poles 15 or 18 inches long. Fire kept through the night if banked with earth or ashes.

342 *Tselona.* Winter dwellings conformed to the usual two types: conical with a framework of poles and inverted V-shaped. Roofing utilized spruce brush, moss, and sod but never grass thatch. Occasionally a household possessed sufficient skins to cover a conical lodge.
[343] In summer the Indians did not live in houses and only rain impelled them to put up hasty lean-tos. Surprisingly the construction of sweat houses met with denial. In the

[7] A tale collected by Teit tells how Bear's monopoly of the fire stone was broken by a little bird who visited Bear's lodge to warm himself. While picking lice from the Bear the bird broke the latter's belt and flew off with the stone, passing this object to a number of waiting animals. Last to receive the prize was Fox whose flight to a high mountain exhausted Bear. "Fox broke up the fire-stone on the top of the mountain, and threw the fragments a piece to each tribe. Thus the many tribes all over the earth obtained fire; *and this is why there is fire in the rocks and woods everywhere now.*" As a result of losing fire Bear made a hole in the earth to keep himself warm in winter—the origin of the bear's den! Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 443–444.

It will be recalled that the Upper Liard Indians made fire with the strike-a-light method. The Tlingit (including the Chilkat) used fire drills, including the bow type, as well as percussion methods of fire making. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 202.

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304 infection. Subsequently, from time to time the hole might be enlarged. Nasal rings fashioned from the wide hollow ends of sheep horns remained restricted to women but septum plugs found favor with both sexes. A man also perforated the nasal septum. In the case of boys great secrecy shrouded the operation. People believed that infection would occur if a woman chanced to see the freshly made hole. A young girl carefully concealed her unhealed septum wound from an old woman.

302 Men extracted their facial hair by tweezing, an old man sometimes soliciting a boy to perform the task. Rubbing the hair with rendered bone marrow probably constituted adornment, and in summer people greased their faces. To lighten dark skin a mixture of pitch and shredded bark was applied over a period of several months. Face painting marked the potlatch dancers, and youths of both sexes painted the countenance for courting, the adornment somehow signifying that the person would soon be married. Girls and young women plaited the hair in two or three braids that hung down over the back. Where the braid began a woman tied a painted band of thin, smoked sheepskin. No woman ever coiled her hair over the ears or put it up in a bun behind her head. Men let their hair hang long and unbraided.[13] Combs of jack pine or balsam brush [165] were used and sometimes also the backbone of a fish. Death of a close relative demanded that the hair of both sexes be cut.

304 Boys and girls sought to be tattooed when about ten years old. The operator usually consisted of an older youth. The area to be tattooed was pierced with a porcupine quill coated with charcoal and the needle slowly drawn under the surface so that it left its color behind.[14] Only a limited quantity of tattooing went on during a single sitting, with the result that the process continued over several months. A skilled practitioner "knew the depth of the skin and didn't hurt the other fellow." Designs consisted of short parallel lines applied on the upper surfaces of both arms. Here a man would have his war record embellished. Circumcision was unknown.

291 *Dease River Kaska.* Tanned caribou skin provided the principal source of clothing, supplemented in winter by fox, marten, and other pelts. Sewing was with an awl that punched "holes through which lines were passed to keep shirts and pants together." Women also utilized thimbles of semi-tanned skin when sewing with a needle. Clothes not currently in use were stored in a two-foot long clothing bag of tanned skin.

A man's basic dress consisted of a long-sleeved coat, open in front and tied at the neck. A breech cloth, looped over an inner belt, covered the genitals. The same belt also supported trousers reaching from ankle to the middle of the thigh. Strips of tanned skin ("garters") connected the outside of these leggings to the belt. Only relatively recently, [177] according to an informant, did the Dease River people borrow moccasin and trouser combinations from the Taku Indians. A woman did not use a coat but was attired in a dress that closed in front and extended to about the middle of the calf. She too wore leggings, fastened to an inner belt that also held up the customary breech cloth. Moccasins completed the woman's basic attire.

[13] Uncut hair was customary among the Tlingit. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 189.

[14] "Prick" tattooing is specified for the Tlingit. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 190, 261.

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that sometimes dugouts engaged in such contests.[26] People played many games including blind man's bluff, which involved covering the eyes of a player with tanned skin while five or six other participants circled the blindfolded person, who sought to capture them. Both sexes of all ages played hide and seek. Sometimes an object was hidden and its discovery became the object of the game. With a raw skin available children initiated the game of drag-skin, jumping on the skin and trying to hold it back by their weight as it was being drawn by an older person. String figures called for a certain amount of skill to construct designs like a duck, crow, feet, and conical lodge from a length of tanned-skin line. Rope jumping and rope tug-of-war did not come into popularity until contact, and pole tug-of-war, skin-tossing, as well as snapping sticks, could not be recalled as amusement devices. Shamans may have used snapping sticks as part of the curing ritual. Story telling possessed educative value and constituted the pleasant responsibility of old men. A story teller might insist that the audience look him directly in the eyes. Should a young person shift his glance he would be reprimanded by the narrator remarking, "You won't be smart."[27] Private ownership did not extend to folk tales.

Gambling occurred in summer, when a number of family bands gathered together and the weather allowed players to assemble around an outdoor fire. The stick game, of which several alternative forms existed, furnished the most popular medium for betting.[28] Since the pattern of this game has already been described for the Kaska[29] the details will not be repeated here. Mainly the game took place at night, illumination coming from a well-tended fire located between the double line of kneeling players. A steady drumming furnished rhythm to which the gamblers moved hands and body as they challenged the opponents to guess in which hand the wooden token lay concealed. Women as well as men played the stick game but the sexes never competed in the same game. Forfeits consisted of whatever valuables a man chose to offer. Sometimes after playing most of the night a man lost all his resources. With the gambling fever still possessing him he might in the end bet his wife. Should he lose his bet the woman remained with the winner for two or three days before returning to her husband. Marriages rarely broke up as a result of this custom. Sometimes an old man, fearing that the woman would become accustomed to the other man, went to the winner's camp and urged the latter to send her back.

Feasts marked a number of points on the life cycle. Thus parents celebrated the birth

[26] The Tlingit organized three- to four-mile races, run by from three to five canoes. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 81.

[27] A Tahltan informant, Beal Carlick, said that among his people a grandfather told many stories about fighting, murder, and warfare. Such deeds were explained as resulting from the evil nature of some men and the craziness of some women. "This was just like school, educate us so we don't lie, don't steal." Stories also possessed entertainment value and filled evenings when there was nothing else to do. "Sit down, listen, don't run around anymore," the informant said.

[28] Stick games were also a favorite form of gambling among the Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 443–444; Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 122–123.

[29] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 174–175.

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headman encouraged men to hunt. He urged his followers to maintain peaceful relations and reprimanded the lazy, with good reason for a chronically non-productive man represented a drain on the capacity of others.[13] The chief did not often try to punish adult members of his band but could expel a person for certain crimes. Any man might express disagreement with the headman although he would be urged to "watch" his words. The informant appeared to recognize the description of a council and described such meetings at which discussion centered on important hunting plans or on an outbreak of in-group aggression. Men and women attended such deliberations but women never tried to speak.

The dwellers on the upper Liard River were divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties, the Wolf and Crow. Slightly greater prestige appears to have attached to the Wolf section. According to one old man (X), who had come to the Cassiar as a boy from Espatotena country, the Kaska lacked moiety division prior to the time when Tahltan Indians penetrated the area. When the latter encountered a Kaska Indian they said, "You're a Wolf" or "You're a Crow," thus classifying the population. At first the Kaska did not understand such talk. Eventually they adopted the dual division of the Tahltan.[14] A myth gives a more exotic account of the origin of moiety organization. The tale has been reported for the Pelly River Tutchone by Poole Field and was known to our chief informant (O). The man previously referred to (X), who came from the east, did not know the account. Following is the unedited version of the tale taken from Field's manuscript.[15]

The animals were the first people and the smartest of all the animals, and the wisest were the wolves and ravens, the next was the wolverine. All the animals could talk and understand each other and can yet. The wolves and ravens intermarried and their children were Indians. They called the wolverine their brother-in-law and were very friendly with him.

The wolves and ravens held a meeting and made a law that they would not marry any other animal, but a wolf was to marry a raven and a raven a wolf. The children would take their name from the mother, and their mother would own the country. Sisters and brothers, after they became of age, should not speak or play with each other; when a wolf died the other wolves should make a big feast for the ravens to eat and would find the raven presents but would eat nothing themselves. When a raven died he was to do the same for the wolves and so the world was started.

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[13] Hallowell's figures, which show that in hunting bands one male hunter supports about three persons including himself, appear to be borne out when other groups are examined. Hallowell, *Size of Algonkian Hunting Territories: Function of Ecological Adjustment* (1949); Honigmann, *Intercultural Relations at Great Whale River, P. Q.* (1952), 510.

[14] The question of the relationship of dual organization among the Kaska to the social organization of the Tlingit has still to be settled. Although social organization was more complexly developed on the Northwest Coast, the basic feature of moiety organization is similar between the two regions. Tlingit moieties, which were matrilineal and exogamous, are designated Raven (sometimes Eagle) and Wolf. The Kaska fire origin myth given above (see p. 61) suggests that certain animals were somehow closely "related." Thus the wolverine, fox, and black bear "belonged" to the crow; the grizzly bear and lynx were allied to the wolf. Swanton's evidence suggests a similar identification of grizzly bear with wolf among the Tlingit while Krause includes the (black?) bear here too. See Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 398, 415–417, 422–423; Krause, *Tlinkit Indianer* (1885), 112, 122; Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 25, 44, 170–171.

[15] Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 10–11.

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These laws are followed to the present day amongst all the Indians on the Yukon, Pelly, Teslin Lake, and Upper Liard, but the Mountain Indians do not.

Exogamous moieties regulated marriage. Members of one division also prepared the opposite group's dead for burial. The sides tendered potlatches to one another. On such occasions the members of each group adorned their faces with a particular colored paint, blue for the Crows and red for the Wolves. The designs, however, did not differ. When a large number of people camped together each moiety "rustled" wood for the fire, stacking poles in a single heap. Then they would slide the fuel into the fire, each side in succession adding one piece after the other. Afterwards the brothers-in-law (i.e., the men belonging to opposite moieties) sat around and talked. The practice of fire tending may be regarded as a simple rite of intensification,[15] serving to promote interaction between the segments and thus to contribute to the solidarity of the larger aggregate.

Three social levels were distinguished in the pre-contact Kaska community, the rich, poor, and slaves. Social stratification on the basis of wealth is a prominent feature in the culture of the Pacific Drainage Athapaskans and is even more extensively developed among the Indians of the Northwest Coast. One informant (O) knew about an hereditary nobility among the Tlingit but stated flatly that the system of social stratification found there had no counterpart in the Cassiar. Such a statement is not unexpected in terms of the association to be anticipated between class structure and surplus-wealth production.

A rich man, tenatiia (the same word today is used to designate the Supreme Being), stood out among his fellows because he could support four or five wives, wore finer clothes, enjoyed more possessions, and employed occasional servants. His word received ready attention. "People always listened to a rich man." Wealth derived from skillful hunting and trapping. The poor man, tenaɣteɣxeʔitʔa, lived with a single wife and often found it difficult to provide even for her and their children. Poorer clothes distinguished the poor man and in group affairs his word carried little weight. Ideally, cordial relations existed between the rich and poor. If a rich man spoke harshly to his less fortunate peer the former's supernatural power might desert him and all his ability to kill game would be reduced. Under such circumstances helping a poor man would assist him to recoup his luck. Poor men who received assistance from wealthier people repaid such help by working for their patrons, for example, visiting the latters' deadfalls. In this way the rich came to enjoy the labor of servants. A slave, xiina (this is said to be a Tlingit word adopted into the Liard River vocabulary), represented a war captive. Inasmuch as the Kaska generally killed enemy male captives, slaves were usually women. A man sometimes referred in fun to his sister's children as slaves.[16]

Dease River Kaska. As late as 1928 Father Allard, an Oblate missionary stationed at McDame Creek, wrote, "All members of the tribe are free to hunt and fish over all the tribal territory. They hunt and fish in little bands of one, two or three families,—each family consisting of father, mother and children, with sometimes other members,

[15] Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (1942), 485-486.
[16] See above, p. 77.

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married or single.[17] Such a description represents the aboriginal pattern of Dease River social organization. Each band recognized a "chief,"[18] or leader, who guided the people in hunting. Outstanding in his ability to secure game, a headman was also always a rich man. Sometimes as many as seven families comprised his following. As a headman aged and became incapacitated, he relinquished his role in favor of a son or brother whose duties included caring for the retired leader.

All the Dease River Indians were divided into two moieties, tsimii ("sides"), the Wolf and Crow. The two sections represented exogamous units in which membership followed the matrilineal line. Potlaches promoted interaction between the divisions, the members of which also prepared each other's dead for burial and competed in sports.[19]

Rich and poor men tended to stand out in the pre-contact community. The former represented able hunters who managed to secure large quantities of meat and skins. Such abundance attracted followers and dependents who accepted their patron's authority. Thus rich men also held positions of band leadership. The poor depended on the wealthy for food and skins. They made no return for such assistance. Sometimes a man became temporarily impoverished as a result of losing his hunting "luck." Help to such a man was advantageous because he would certainly remember the generosity when his fortunes turned. Poverty, as long as it did not stem from laziness, provided no bar to marriage, but a lazy man merited only laughter and jeers.[20]

[17] Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1928), 24–25.

[18] When the Hudson's Bay Company entered the Cassiar, they appointed local chiefs to develop trapping. The word is derived from this period. The "company chief" was provided with a certain amount of regalia and received flour and tobacco to distribute to his "boys." Upon the Indians' arrival at the post the manager fired a gun to salute the executive. Prior to this period, informants agreed, no comparable leader existed among the Dease River people.

[19] Teit reports a more complex social system for the adjoining Tahltan. "Their social organization appears to be based largely on that obtaining among the Tlingit. Like the latter, they are divided into two exogamous phratries called Wolf and Raven (as in the case of the Kaska, the former is more important and is said to represent the original Tahltan people). Children belong to the phratry and clan of their mother. Each phratry consists of three clans or gentes, each of which has a hereditary chief and a territory of its own. These six chiefs form the governing body of the tribe. The clans do not have special totems, nor traditions deriving their origin from mythological ancestors. Crests and totems usually belong to the phratry. A seventh clan exists at the present day, having originated about 150 years ago through immigration of and intermarriage with the Tlingit. It belongs to the Wolf phratry, but has no recognized territory nor chief within the country of the Tahltans; it is called by its Tlingit name. There is an aristocracy of rank and wealth, but these nobles have no special rights in hunting grounds, fisheries, etc. Methods of obtaining rank, the potlatch, and many of the social and ceremonial customs of the tribe are closely adopted from the Tlingit." (Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* [1912], 484–485. See also Jenness, *Indians of Canada* [1932], 373.) Mrs. William Streng, of Vancouver and Telegraph Creek, B. C., loaned the present writer several photographs of a Tahltan potlatch held in relatively recent times. These showed men wearing dark cloth robes embroidered with what appeared to be crest figures and very similar to the robes often illustrated for the Northwest Coast.

In Lower Post we learned of only two exogamous moieties among the Tahltan, the Wolf and Crow. Teit's description of clans with territorial rights does not sound convincing and may refer to local divisions in the Tahltan nation.

[20] Slaves were reported for the Tahltan where one "chief," Makuske, is said to have held 22 captive workers. These hunted and fished for their master and were well treated. (Personal communication from

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BELIEF AND THOUGHT

COSMOGONY AND THEOGONY

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UPPER LIARD KASKA. Cosmological speculation remained unelaborated in aboriginal Kaska culture. Also, the limited material we collected on this topic makes it impossible to iron out inconsistencies and contradictions. A distinction between the sky and the earth obtained in pre-contact times,[1] and recognition of at least two periods of terrestrial habitation is implicitly revealed in cosmogonical narratives. The earlier period of the world antedates "true Indians." Perhaps it is then that "the animals were like people." At any rate, animals constituted the original earthly population. While they were still powerful (but not necessarily prior to human creation), there came a great flood that killed the monsters who threatened already existing people. Informants ascribed the flood to God who designed it to punish the people because they fought "all the time." Some Indians secured themselves by building a raft which the rising waters lifted until it came to rest on a mountain top. "You can still see the place where the raft came down. Here you can find big elephant [mammoth?] teeth" (X).[2] Following the flood Crow restored the world, the myth describing that event being the familiar Earth Diver tale. Today original creation is attributed to God, Tenatiia, a word probably designating a "rich and powerful person." Nobody regards God and Crow as identical. Informants could not say whether the idea of an anthropomorphic supreme being antedated European penetration of the Cassiar. They implied that Tenatiia had always existed but not as a supreme god. This, of course, does not mean that the ancestors of the present day Kaska recognized Tenatiia as a deity. The evidence strongly suggests that the name was syncretized to designate the God of the Hebraic-Christian tradition.

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Apparently not all the animals can be traced back to a prediluvian golden age. Beaver, for example, had to be created from human stock!

Originally there were no beaver in this country. A couple had one girl. These three were traveling but did not know how they would cross the creeks. At every creek except the last they found a bridge. The last creek they couldn't cross. They camped for the night and when they started the next day found that the girl was missing. But there was a beaver dam across the creek. Just as the father came up to it he saw a beaver swimming away and recognised his daughter. This was the first beaver (X).

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[1] In Tlingit belief ". . . the earth was conceived of as flat and the sky as a solid vault. Inside of and between these everything was alive with spirits . . . and some also resided upon the sky itself." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 451.

[2] Field reports that the Pelly River Indians "have lots of old legends of the country being flooded, also of being covered with ice, another of the country being covered with ashes, and the trouble the people had at that time to live." (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 16.) The flood tradition also is found among the Tlingit where a mountain top on Prince of Wales Island is pointed out as the resting place of the Indians who survived. (Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* [1914], 188.) Swanton, also apparently perplexed by conflicting traditions, says, "Raven was the creator, or rather the organizer, of the present state of things." Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 451.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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776 mice which they secured with small bows and arrows in the tall grass, sometimes befriended men. They also enjoyed a reputation for their fun making. Information about [177] Fire Man (Kondiklutc or Kotc) came to the Kaska from the Taku Indians, who called him Tciskii'e. An evil being, he spoke in the fire's cracking and to him the people then threw small bits of meat. The devil sent cold and controlled other evil beings like Tenatco. Long ago Tiyutsiia, a cannibal, prowled the earth for unsuspecting victims whom he clubbed to death and then prepared like game for eating. The track of this being struck great terror when encountered but he perished long ago in the flood. Water beings were unknown. Thunder originated from a great "fly" (bird? insect?) with a large mouth.[10]

776 *Tselona.* No idea of a Supreme Being obtained in aboriginal times. Something called a devil (Liiap) entered into the aboriginal belief system but details could not be recalled.

SHAMANISM

756 *Upper Liard Kaska.* An informant told us that a shaman was always a fat person because he constantly dreamed that he was eating. Such a characterization may be derived from one or two renowned shamans about whom the informant had knowledge. Every young man received the opportunity to acquire power that would enhance his personal capacities. Hence every man was a potential shaman (meta or nudita; the latter word appears to designate the curing status of the person). Women too could be visited by extraordinary dreams through which they, like men, acquired shamanistic [789] power. By working harder at shamanism some men and a few women acquired a wide reputation as curers, prophets, and conjurers.

The power to perform shamanistic functions came from "dreaming of animals in a 756 lonely place" (O). A young person would spend time in the bush. At night he might 787 hear ɔɣa singing like a human being or he might hear a moose or bear singing. "You go in bush. Pretty soon get dark. You hear somebody sing. Bye and bye get light. Fellow goes and just moose there when you wake up. Bye and bye get dark and that man come back" (X). When a boy reached about 14 or 15 years in age his father directed him to sleep in the forest. Before leaving camp the youth would sometimes suck his mother's breast "just like a little baby." Generally the aspirant traveled about ten miles from his parents' camp, stopping at a place where he saw porcupine tracks. Arriving at such a site the boy painted his chest with a pigment made from rotten wood. Always he camped alone, accompanying his one or two days of isolation with sparse eating and little drinking.[11] It was forbidden to take a bow and arrows along on a vision quest. Every night

[10] Thunder birds have been reported for the Tahltan (see footnote 8) and Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 455; Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 186.

[11] Among the Tlingit would-be shamans "spent long periods in the forest in absolute solitude, supposedly in communication with evil spirits. They also had periods of fasting and their diet differed in many respects from that of others." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* [1914], 155–156.) Drucker is more explicit in listing the following traits for the Tlingit power quest: shaman's power from animal spirits; bathing and "medicines" used preparatory to novice's vision quest; fasting and continence enjoined during the quest; bathing and fasting after first encounter as well as a four-day period of singing

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

755 787 Certain therapeutic rites required silence in order to be effective. These a shaman performed at a considerable distance from the sick camp, never within range of the sound of barking dogs. Probably under such circumstances a healer caused a sorcerer's evil to recoil on the latter. Detection of a sorcerer was easy if it happened that somebody remained conspicuously absent from a curing ceremony. Against the absent one the shaman directed the finger of guilt.

783 Confession helped to diagnose illness resulting from broken avoidances and apparently also possessed curative value in itself. The shaman asked, "You ever bother your sister?" "You ever kill an otter?" "How you kill mink?" "You ever steal?" When the patient had admitted an offense the confessor warned him not to repeat the deed upon recovery.

177 789 801 832 Following contact with Europeans a hunter came to perform a ritual to alleviate intense cold. He fired a dry root ("wolverine medicine") from a shotgun. Informants did not recognize the reference to "lucky number." The preceding material, however, suggests strongly that the number "four" possessed special significance. Apart from love songs, which may have been used with the idea of magically attracting a member of the opposite sex, love magic occupied little attention.[84]

754 As already indicated people sometimes used their magical power against other people. For example a reputed shaman who felt slighted or ridiculed might use sorcery in vengeance against his real or fancied detractors. People took care not to annoy a shaman. He should be "only pleased," said an informant. A man whose temperament favored sorcery sought to increase his power by dreaming of animals like the mink and otter but not all persons were sorcerers whose power emanated from these species. A sorcerer tried to "steal" his victim's wind, perhaps first securing a piece of the latter's clothing. Burial of such a possession in the ground brought about death. (Note the use of burial in this context.) A person suspecting sorcery might pay to have his wind returned. In this way really malevolent practitioners extorted women. Sorcerers meted out not only death but also illness, physical and mental, and also "troubled" a man by ruining his hunting ability. A good hunter knew that he had been sorcerized when, seeing a moose, he failed to strike the animal with his weapon. Black magic held a danger of mental illness for the evil magician, who in some cases was also executed with the community's consent. Sorcerers, however, could evade execution by slipping through their enemies' hands. An informant related a story about two Tlingit shamans, one of whom was evil. They both flew through the air. The good man disappeared after a time but his

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The wind had gone so far away that the patient was close to death. During the interval of unconsciousness nobody might leave the dwelling. After perhaps four hours the men simultaneously returned to awareness and renewed their singing. Part of the paraphernalia used in the rite consisted of a line strung with feathers. This the practitioner lashed around the patient's wrists and used to pull the latter from his bed. In that way he was pulled back to life, the informant explained. The pattern of going into a trance to retrieve an errant soul is close to the Eskimo pattern of shamanism. The line fastened to the patient recalls Eskimo divination customs.

[84] Love magic has been reported for the Tahltan. In one particular variety a white root was obtained from the ground and rolled into pellets. The woman's image was then drawn on a piece of skin and encircled with the pellets. If the charm was to be successful the pellets moved and at the same time the woman found herself attracted to the magician.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

888 turally recognized as the end of the child-bearing period a woman knew that old age was at hand. The thought saddened her. Sometimes such a woman began to act youthful and sought to attract a young lover or husband. Very old people, when they became unable to walk, were sometimes abandoned alongside the fire with a large pile of wood. This usually happened in autumn. Then when the snow had crusted the people returned to bury the bodies that they found awaiting them. Often, however, the aged, like the blind and lame, were carried or drawn upon a toboggan.

761 The Kaska recognized several interrelated causes of death. People who exerted themselves, killed themselves, or suffered accidents like drowning, died of so-called natural causes. However, it was not improbable that sorcery had made them vulnerable to injuries or depression. Many deaths followed from malevolent magic as well as from the violation of avoidances like an incest rule. Finally, as we will see, the ghosts could take life. Illness, as already stated, represented the temporary alienation of the soul or wind (tajuc) from the body. Death on the other hand represented a permanent rupture between these entities. The wind, described as "just like" the photograph of a person, did not die but continued to exist in an afterworld from which it might return to be reincarnated. In addition death represented the loss of the shadow (mezi). This did not leave the earth but remained around the scene of death or at a burial place. At night the shadow sometimes manifested itself as a ghost (tsune).

775 There were several afterworlds about which informants remained vague. Up in the sky lay the realm reserved for the souls of the good where people spoke a language different from that employed on earth. Here the winds spent the time in play and eating but they did not hunt. To reach the sky the soul followed a trail leading across a clear country where its tears created a great river that presently blocked further progress. Only by restraining its weeping could the soul lower the waters and thus continue the journey until it came to a narrow passage guarded by two great swans. When they saw the deceased they cried out, "Person coming!" "Then God [Tenatiia] [77] takes them in," the informant added.[8] The description of the afterworld reserved for the evil sounds very much as if it had been influenced by Christian teaching. No other explanation accounts as well for the presence of animals that are not indigenous to the Cassiar. In this realm the souls of the wicked suffered constantly. Snakes crawled around the individual; bad animals troubled, fought, and frightened him. "Elephants picked him up on their tusks and sharks with their teeth scraped the skin from his body. In all this torture the soul was never killed [i.e., the torture never terminated?]."

[8] The Tlingit realm of the dead is described as "an entirely happy region, elevated above the plane of this world." On the other hand we read that there were three such regions, one lower than the other. Below the world still another afterworld existed for the drowned. Bad people went to "Raven's home." (Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [1908], 466.) Jones says that the soul or "shadow" quit the body at death to go "if the person dies a natural death and was not a slave . . . to the happy region of the spirits which is thought of as being in some remote part of the earth; if he die in war, then it goes to dwell in the sky; if drowned, then it descends to a region below the plane of the earth, provided the body is recovered, but if not recovered it is captured by Goosh-ta-kâ' (Land-otter Man) and taken back into the woods." Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 234-235.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

764 is following him."[38] People denied fear of a corpse, the informant having heard of such an attitude around Fort Simpson, where only old people could be persuaded to prepare a body for burial because the young men fled into the bush. The dead body was usually removed from the dwelling through the entry. Sometimes the corpse would be carried through the rear wall in order to conceal it from children. People thought that for a child to look at a dead body permitted the ghost to see and perhaps take a fancy to the youngster.[39] It would seem that ghost fear rather than fear of the corpse characterized the people of the Cassiar.

The dead were disposed of in four ways, through cremation, inhumation, abandonment, and caching in a tree. In "really cold" weather the corpse was burned. Members [616] of the moiety opposite to that of the deceased built a coffin of lashed poles corresponding to the size of the body. Dry wood was included in the box along with the corpse. Then the workers struck a fire and departed. Nobody witnessed the actual cremation, as people disliked the odor of burning human flesh. When the blaze died down the men returned to see that the liver had been fully consumed. This organ always burned slowly and had to be destroyed or the "relatives" would become angry. Following complete destruction the skull and bones were raked together and deposited in a small hole dug on the site of the fire.[40] People planted a stick over the place of interment.[41]

In summer a pit three feet deep was dug with sharp poles to accomodate a corpse. Sometimes inhumation also occurred in winter when a fire had to be built to thaw the ground. The grave, usually located on a ridge, was lined with poles and a layer of spruce brush.[42] Grave workers took care not to bring extra poles to the site lest another per-

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[38] Preparation of the corpse became somewhat more elaborate after contact, when the deceased was dressed in new clothes and his face covered with a handkerchief. For two or three days the body might be displayed to visitors who lifted the cloth for a last view.

[39] Tlingit bodies were never removed through the door but through an aperture in the roof or side of the house. The custom magically prevented the spirit from finding its way back to the death place. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 151.

[40] The only other evidence of secondary disposal is contained in an anecdote about one Isaac, Alec Chief, who in 1909 exhumed his wife's body at Lower Post. She was a Bear Lake (Sekani) Indian and her mother disliked the fact that she had been interred in a Kaska graveyard. Alec took the corpse to McDame Creek, where the people became alarmed at his act and felt that many of them would die because a corpse had been brought from so great a distance. "This is true," the informant assured us. "Many people have died there since then" (0). According to Jones, the Tlingit "will even exhume bodies and bones and bury them in some other spot in order to have convenience for . . . hunting." Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 150.

[41] Jonnaux affirms that the Kaska had adopted cremation from the Tahltan and Tlingit but later superseded this form of disposal with ground burial. A Dease River informant said exactly this about his own people, as will be reported below. (Jonnaux, *The Indians of Canada* [1932], 399.) Jones reports that among the Tlingit "at one time cremation was the universal way of disposing of the dead, except of the bodies of slaves, which were embalmed and deposited in dead houses." The ashes collected after burning a corpse were placed in a box which was stored in a death house with clothing, food, and blankets. Disposal of the corpse was in the hands of another "totemic group" who were paid according to the rank of the deceased. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 136-137. See also Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 438, who says that shamans' bodies were abandoned along the shore.

[42] McLean reports the Mackenzie River Athapaskans around 1866 were accustomed to "dispose of

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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WITCH-FEAR IN POST-CONTACT KASKA SOCIETY

By JOHN J. HONIGMANN

ABORIGINALLY the Kaska, like their Northern Athapaskan neighbors, were familiar with sorcery—behavior in which a person with sufficiently strong shamanistic power would steal, or was believed to steal, the wind or soul of a personal enemy and thereby induce illness. Although people who practiced such behavior were feared by the rest of the society's members, they were not usually put to death or otherwise punished. Sorcery, however, was regarded as evil and might therefore automatically lead to punishment in the form of insanity. There is no evidence that sorcery in aboriginal times ever was as prevalent as similar behavior in certain African and Melanesian groups. Following white contact, however, a socially dyscrasic form of behavior appeared among the Kaska which, to distinguish it from the sorcery complex associated with the aboriginal society, may be designated as witch-hunting or witch-fear. The present paper will first present the available evidence from historical sources and informants regarding this form of behavior. Following this an attempt will be made to analyze that material from an historical, psychological, and structural point of view and apply the findings in a universal frame of reference.[1]

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The Kaska still occupy the territory which they have always inhabited in the memory of the oldest informants. This is the area extending northwest of the Stikine River, British Columbia, Canada, to the divide north of Frances Lake, Yukon Territory, and from the western Cordillera east across the Rocky Mountains (Fig. 1). The main rivers traversing this region are the Liard, Frances, and Dease. The name Kaska is a conventional term adopted from one group of people to classify a number of contiguous tribes speaking closely related dialects. Within the area designated as Kaska several such tribes have been variously distinguished in the literature, but for present purposes the names by which they are locally known today will suffice. In the extreme north are the Frances Lake Indians. Occupying the basin of the Liard, from about the present Highway crossing twenty-three miles above Lower Post to within a hundred miles of that river's source, are the Upper Liard Indians. The

[1] Field work with the Kaska Indians took place from June to September 1944 and from June to December 1945. The work was sponsored by the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University. To Professors Cornelius Osgood and Irving Rouse are due thanks for critically reading this manuscript. The present account will offer a minimum of general ethnographic detail. A description of the aboriginal culture based on reconstruction is planned for future publication and a psychologically oriented study of the contemporary culture is already partially in manuscript.

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Cordillera live the Taku Indians. Beyond these, bordering the Pacific, are the Tlingit.

The total population of the Kaska probably never numbered more than about three or four hundred persons. Today about two hundred people constitute the tribes lying between the two mountain ranges.[3]

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Fur traders established their first contacts with the Kaska east of the Rocky Mountains shortly after 1800. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company built a post west of the mountains (Fort Halkett) and in 1838 another at Dease Lake. Frances Lake post was founded in 1840. It must be pointed out that these meetings with traders were not soon followed by missionary contact as was the rule in many other parts of the Northern Athapaskan area. In 1872 the discovery of gold along Dease River brought a great influx of miners into the country, most of whom traveled up the Stikine waterway, crossed the portage from Telegraph Creek in Tahltan Indian country, and then went down Dease Lake and River. By 1876 the white population in the latter drainage basin is estimated to have reached about 2,000 people, including a large number of Chinese laborers. By 1887, however, the strangers had nearly all disappeared although a number of Chinese remained to work abandoned bearings. In 1897 and 1898 a second wave of miners entered the area, this time en route to the Klondike gold fields which, because of the exigencies of the climate, many were never to reach. As a result of the large population in these periods trading posts came to be established at the confluence of McDame Creek and Dease River and, shortly before 1890, another where the Dease meets the Liard, the so-called Lower Post.

Certain concomitants of these early contacts have a bearing on the present problem. From the traders and other white men the Kaska were introduced to new varieties of food, tools, and shelter as well as to attitudes that undermined many aboriginal beliefs and behaviors. New semi-permanently occupied shelters, like log cabins, were introduced but do not appear to have taken serious hold until about twenty years ago. Previous to that time, life history data reveal, mobility was still largely maintained with a consequent dependence on temporary camps and game and fish rather than on stores of white food accumulated for winter consumption. Even today the Frances Lake Indians retain considerable dependence on environmental resources, food being highly expensive in a remote outpost like Frances Lake which receives most of its supplies by air. The principal beliefs disappearing before the ridicule of the whites pertained to religion, shamanism, and sorcery. War, of course, was abandoned early in the contact period. Something of the character of the people's reaction to the growing domination of the white society may be

[3] Canada, 1941. Only one or two Frances Lake Indians are included in this census.

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gauged from the fact that between 1908 and 1910 the anthropologist James A. Teit was helping both the Kaska and Tahltan fight the Registered Trap-Line Act of British Columbia. The Indians strongly defended their right to trap anywhere without being limited to fixed trap lines. Their case, however, was lost. According to white informants interviewed at Lower Post, a few Indians about this time also manifested direct hostility to white men and the mysterious disappearance of one white trapper is said to have provoked investigation of some Indians.[3a]

In 1924 the Kaska became rather widely known because of the persistent reports of witch killings that emanated from their area. In that year the body of a young Indian, Moccasin, was found in a slough thirty miles below Lower Post. The condition of the corpse suggesting murder, the matter was reported to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who in May of the same year arrived at Lower Post, found the body, and made several arrests. The report of this punitive detachment written by the Superintendent of the British Columbia Provincial Police follows.

THE LIARD RIVER MURDER

Last spring the Department of Indian Affairs received word that a young northern Indian had been callously murdered by his fellow-tribesmen. To avoid unnecessary duplication of work and expense, Colonel R. S. Knight, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, commanding the British Columbia District, kindly arranged to have this and other matters investigated by a patrol he was sending in to the British Columbia—Yukon boundary.

In May, 1924, Inspector Sandys-Wunsch, with two Royal Canadian Mounted Police Constables, reached Fort Liard [Lower Post] via Wrangell, Alaska, and within a few days not only found the remains of Atol, or Moccasin, a young Indian boy who had been brutally tied up and left on the ice to die, but succeeded in arresting Dan Loot,[4] Jimmy Loot, Clem Loot, Big Alec, and a woman named Edie for their share in the offense. These nomadic Indians—Nahanees of Dené stock—firmly believe in magic and witchcraft, and it is because he was suspected of this practice that Atol was cruelly done to death. The whole conduct of this investigation reflects great credit upon the officers concerned, particularly when it is remembered that the natives are singularly uncommunicative when questioned on the subject of their tribal belief.

Inspector Sandys-Wunsch, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, brought his prisoners out and they are now awaiting trial.[4]

All five Indians were tried at Prince Rupert in August 1925. Big Alec was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and the woman, a sister of the Loots brothers, received a ten years' suspended sentence. The three Loots brothers were discharged. Evidence presented at the trial suggested that

[3a] See also Dawson, 1887, p. 3.

[4] This family name is pronounced Loots and is so spelled in the latest census rolls. See Canada, 1944.

[4] British Columbia, 1925, p. x14. See also Canada, 1926, pp. 18–19, 24.

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ND12 Nahane ND12

subsequently put to death." Torture included tying the alleged witch to stakes before the rising tide, or in the forest "for wolves to devour." A suspect was also allowed to starve to death. Sometimes the limbs of suspects "were tied to their bodies and then they were thrown naked on a bed of thorns."[22] Swanton, Jones, and Pinart all speak of Tlingit shamanism as apparently distinct from witchcraft.[23]

Accepting the statements of informants that belief in witchcraft reached the Kaska from outside of the area, it seems extremely likely that such attitudes were transmitted from the Tlingit, where the witchcraft behavior was (at least ideally) more firmly developed and, from its more extensive relations with the shaman complex, apparently persisted from aboriginal times. From the Pacific coast the attitudes passed to the Tlingits' immediately adjacent neighbors, the Tahltan (and possibly the Taku) and then made their way across the Cordillera to the Pelly River and western Kaska Indians.[24] In this process of transmission the techniques of witchcraft were apparently lost but the important underlying fear of the witches' activities as well as their torture, death, and selection from "ineffectual persons," namely children, were retained. From Sam Bob's statement, "What you call witch come from some place—Tahltan, Tlingit maybe" and his report of a woman coming to Lower Post with witch-fear learned from Tahltan sources it would appear that the Tahltan were middlemen in this transmission. The Tahltan had long been intermediaries in the fur trading carried on between the Tlingit and the interior Indians although in early days the privilege of trade with the Tahltan had been reserved for only a few Tlingit families.[25] Intercourse between these tribes tended to intensify when the Tlingit became the boatmen who, during the gold rushes following 1872 and 1897, operated up the Stikine River visiting Glenora and Telegraph Creek. On the other hand the absence of witch-fear phenomena to the east of the Kaska, among the Fort Nelson Slave, and to the south, among the Sekani studied by Jenness[26] proves conclusively that the behavior could not have reached the Kaska from those tribes. Further light on the mechanics of transmission will undoubtedly be gained through ethno-

[22] Jones, 1914, pp. 156–157. See also Oberg, 1934, pp. 154–155.

[23] Swanton, 1908, p. 464; Jones, 1914, pp. 155–156; Pinart, 1872, p. 810. Stevenson also reports a difference between the shaman and an inferior medicine man whom he also calls a "wizard sorcerer." (Stevenson, 1893.)

[24] Field work may uncover an alternative explanation for the transmission of witch-fear to the Taku and Pelly River Indians. According to Jenness the original Athapaskan population of these tribes died out and the Taku region around Teslin Lake was taken over by Tlingit people who were later joined by Frances Lake Indians in moving to the country of the upper Pelly and Ross Rivers. (See Jenness, 1932, p. 396; also Field, 1918.) According to Liard Tom, a Kaska informant, a few Indians from Lower Post were permanently attracted to the Pelly River country by the cheaper prices prevailing at the trading post established on Ross River around 1899.

[25] Dawson, 1887, p. 4. [26] Jenness, 1937.

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graphic work with the Tahltan and other Pacific-drainage Athapaskan groups.

In view of the statements that the practice of witch hunting was absent in aboriginal Kaska society it may be expected that this attitude appeared in the area between 1820 and 1900. A survey of the historical background has already revealed two great movements of white people up the Stikine waterway, one starting in 1872 and another in 1897. The reports of Dawson, who was in the country about 1887, make a passing reference to witchcraft among the Tahltan. Therefore it seems reasonable from all available evidence, including informants' data, to ascribe the introduction of witch-fear in Kaska territory to the closing years of the nineteenth century.

At this period other occurrences probably had an influence in conditioning the acceptance of such beliefs. Kaska-culture was undergoing a period of drastic change. The adaption of the Indians was being severely tested by the influx of people who by their numbers were probably dispersing the game on which the Indians depended in large measure for survival. Never comfortable with strangers, the people were now being exposed to all manner of contacts, some of which were certainly not courteous and considerate.[27] In addition must be considered the Indians' exposure to introduced illnesses, which were taking a heavy toll of life. Even today the people blame the white man for the origin of tuberculosis and colds. The study of the influence of these historical changes on the adoption of beliefs in witchcraft is part of the psychological problem to which attention will now be directed.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA. II, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL

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A study of the psychological functions of Kaska witch-fear must answer several related questions. In the first place why, if as is known, the Kaska as well as the Tahltan had a knowledge of and contact with the Tlingit going back to aboriginal times, was the belief in witchcraft not accepted long before? Here again historical factors must be examined before any psychological explanation need be attempted. The superimposition of witchcraft belief on patterns of shamanism among the Tlingit suggests that those people had themselves only developed attitudes of witchcraft relatively recently. Furthermore *intense* contact with Tlingit society probably did not occur for the Kaska until the close of the nineteenth century when interaction with the Tahltan probably also occurred on a friendly rather than, as had previously been the rule, on a hostile basis. The question therefore becomes limited to the predisposing conditions which influenced the acceptance of a belief in witchcraft in relatively modern times. It may now be asked, what problems did a belief in witchcraft satisfy in Kaska society at the time of its acceptance and what were the functions of this belief?

[27] For a picture of the type of men who went on the Klondike trail see Dena, [illegible], p. 463; also Stratford, 1912.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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CONCLUSION

Much has been written about the Northern Athapaskans' supposed predilection to borrow from the cultures of their neighbors. Some of the instances cited of such alleged transmissions can now be demonstrated to rest on an incorrect interpretation of what meager evidence was available when these accounts were written, although the adaptability of a people like the Kaska remains a well-defined charasteristic. With regard to witch-fear, it is believed that the aboriginal absence and relatively late introduction of the behavior in question have been adequately demonstrated historically. Witch-fear seems to have originally developed among the Pacific Coast Tlingit and from there made its way to certain inland Athapaskan tribes, including the Kaska. In the case of the Kaska, this transmission probably utilized the Tahltan as middlemen.

The Kaska did not receive witch-fear without being prepared for this behavior. Witch-fear functioned to relieve the anxiety and derived hostility generated in a basically anxious personality by conditions of acculturation, and was possible in a society that lacked strong organization beyond primary kinship ties. Witch-fear may be diagnosed as a reaction to social stress and is therefore comparable to other reactions manifested by societies following devastating effects of acculturation.

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